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THE

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF

HUGH BOYD,

THE

Author of the Letters of Junius.

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,

BY

LAWRENCE DUNDAS CAMPBELL.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

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EMBASSY

TO

CANDY.

PREFACE

BY

THE EDITOR.

THE purpoſe of Mr. BOYD's Embaſſy from the Government of Madras to the King of Candy, has been already ſtated in general terms, in the firſt edition of Mr. BOYD's Life. And the inaccuracy of ſome part of that ſtatement, together with the manner in which the following Journal of the Embaſſy has been preſerved, are pointed out, and deſcribed, in the enlarged, and more circumſtantial account of his Life, prefixed to the firſt volume of this Work.

That Mr. BOYD did not live to fulfil his intention of publiſhing a complete narrative of his Embaſſy, with a deſcription of the manners and cuſtoms of the *Cingaleſe*, and

a full and accurate account of their civil government, laws, and policy, is now the more deeply to be regretted, as our recent conqueſt of all the Dutch poſſeſſions in Ceylon, has rendered that renowned and valuable iſland, and the extraordinary character of its inhabitants, objects of infinite and inſtant importance to the commercial and political intereſts of Britiſh India. Theſe objects will, doubtleſs, be attended to by the wiſdom of our councils; and they are likely to be well pourtrayed and developed, by the lucid and penetrating mind of the gentleman, who at preſent governs our territories in this iſland.

But, in the mean time, a ſuccinct account of it, both natural and civil, drawn from the moſt unqueſtionable authorities, as introductory to the Journal of Mr. Boyd's embaſſy, which throws much additional light on the ſubject, will, I truſt, neither be unacceptable as an amuſement to ſome, nor wholly uſeleſs as an inſtruction to others. A deſire of ſupplying to the utmoſt of my abilities and knowledge, at leaſt ſome part of that information, which it was in the intention

intention of Mr. BOYD to have given the publick, has prompted me to this undertaking; which I ſhall endeavour to execute with the clearneſs, if not with the elegance, with which he would have illuſtrated and adorned the ſubject.

The Iſland of CEYLON, or as it is called by the natives, SILAN, beyond all doubt, I think, the *Tabrobana* of the Greeks and Romans, has been celebrated in all ages for its riches and beauty. But it ſhould ſeem that the neighbouring Hindû nations, on the coaſts of the Indian peninſula, were contented to admire, and felt little inclination to have much intercourſe with it. For there has not yet been diſcovered, in the archives of Hindû literature, notwithſtanding the ſhining talents, profound learning, and unwearied aſſiduity, that have been employed to inveſtigate them, any legendary poem whatever, far leſs any hiſtorical narrative, that gives a particular account of Ceylon: though we find it noticed in the aſtronomical work of *Paraſara*, under the name of *Lancâ*, and though we know from oral tradition, that ſome little trade has been

carried on between it and the ſea-port towns of Hinduſtân, from time immemorial. It is therefore to the writings of European, and one or two Arabian, travellers, and to the commercial ſpirit of the Portugueze and Dutch, that we are indebted for all the information we poſſeſs reſpecting this iſland. Theſe travellers, however, for the moſt part, only viſited its ſhores, or the narrow vicinage of a few miles round the European ſettlements; and thoſe among them who penetrated into the interior of the country, were chiefly men of confined views, and little education. The wars in which the Portugueze were perpetually engaged with the Kings of Candy, from their firſt invaſion of the iſland, until they were attacked by the Dutch, and the perſecuting zeal, with which they wickedly, fooliſhly, and vainly endeavoured to propagate the Chriſtian faith among the Cingaleſe, utterly precluded them from making thoſe inquiries into the religion, laws, and civil government of the country, and from ſtudying the character of its inhabitants, which alone could convince them of the wretched policy they purſued,

and

and ſecure to them that trade, which it was their original object, as well as their intereſt, to cultivate. The Dutch again, after they had finally reduced all the Portugueze ſettlements, and firmly eſtabliſhed themſelves in the iſland; for a while conducted their affairs, if not with the liberal views, at leaſt with the foreſight, and prudence, of able merchants. Their ſound ſenſe ſuggeſted to them the commercial advantages that would ariſe from conciliating the minds of the Cingaleſe; and they concluded a treaty of amity with the King of Candy, in which their right to the territory they had conquered, was recognized, and permiſſion to cultivate the Cinnamon was granted. But the immenſe wealth which they were thereby enabled ſpeedily to acquire, ſoon deſtroyed that enterpriſing ſpirit which had animated their commerce; and inſtead of making themſelves acquainted with the hiſtory, and of extending their views to the general politicks of the country, they confined them to the partial intereſts of their ſeveral factories. The Governors who were ſent from Holland to adminiſter their affairs, inſtead of being

being able ſtateſmen, or enlightened merchants, were men of low habits and coarſe minds, accuſtomed to the trammels of a counting-houſe, and as incapable of forming any generous and extenſive ſcheme of policy, as of encouraging the reſearches of learned men in the arts and ſciences of the Cingaleſe. Hence the hiſtory of the Dutch ſettlements in Ceylon, conſiſts ſolely of a ſeries of details ſo loathſome, that every well-framed mind would be diſguſted at the bare recital of them. A gluttonous rapacity, generated by the rapid acquiſition of riches, rendered the Dutch alike regardleſs of the faith of treaties, and the obligations of friendſhip; and ſpurred them on to make encroachments on the dominions of the King of Candy. This conduct gave birth to a ſucceſſion of petty wars, in which, though the Dutch were always ſucceſsful, the Candians were never ſubdued. In theſe wars the Dutch treated their priſoners, of whatever rank or age, with the harſheſt rigour; and heaped upon them every mark of degradation which the moſt ingenious cruelty could furniſh, or the moſt brutal barbarity inflict.

inflict. The Cingaleſe, though living under a monarchy entirely abſolute, and without any idea whatever of political freedom, being nevertheleſs protected in their perſons and properties, by wholeſome and moderate laws, which they conſider as ſacred, and with which few of their Kings have materially interfered, and proud of their immemorial independence, they were naturally ſhocked, and exaſperated at the enormities of the Dutch. They, therefore, inceſſantly provoked hoſtilities, in order to revenge the injuries they had ſuſtained; and though they were unable to drive their enemy from their iſland, they often ſucceeded in repulſing him from their mountains.—The implacable hatred they bore the Dutch, deterred the Cingaleſe, in times of peace, from having any communication with them; and although the Court of Candy did not refuſe to receive their ambaſſadors, they were treated with cold diſtruſt, and watched with jealous vigilance. And the remembrance of the Portugueze, and the ſhameful and impolitick conduct of the Dutch, at length induced the Kings of Candy to forbid their ſubjects to have

have any intercourſe with any European nation whatever; and they inſtructed them to hold in eternal abhorrence a race of people, whom, as they appeared to them, no ties of honour could bind, and againſt whoſe treachery, no prudence could guard.

Theſe facts ſufficiently account for the Iſland of Ceylon being leſs known than any other equally celebrated part of India.

Of the general line of conduct that has been purſued by each of theſe European nations, who have riſen to any conſequence in India, it ſhould be obſerved here, that the Portugueze, ſhortly after the time of the great *Albuquerque*, became ſo infatuated with their favourite idea, of converting the nations of Aſia to the Catholick religion, that it abſorbed every other conſideration, whether of policy or fame.—A knowledge of the languages, cuſtoms, politicks, arts and ſciences, of Hinduſtân, ſo eſſential to the well-being of their own eſtabliſhments in that country, they totally neglected to acquire.

The Dutch were no leſs indifferent to theſe important objects. Confining all their views

views ſolely to the intereſts and extenſion of their commerce, they never aſpired to the elevated rank of a Sovereign People in the Eaſt. Even their trade was conducted on narrow principles. And from the ſtate of literature in their mother country, during the preſent century, we need not wonder at their having felt no deſire to gather the laurels of India. *

The diſcernment and penetration of the French very early perceived the utility that muſt reſult from their ſtudying the characters and hiſtory of the people of Hinduſtân, and the ſpirit of the different ſtates of which it is compoſed. Their acuteneſs and addreſs enabled them to gain much information on theſe ſubjects. But the continual diſſentions, in which their intrigues involved

* It were however uncandid not to mention here, that a Printing preſs has been eſtabliſhed at Columbo, by the Dutch Company, about fifty years ago; at which there have been printed a grammar of the Cingaleſe language, by *Johannes Ruell;* and one or two tranſlations from the Scriptures, into Cingaleſe, by different authors. Some of theſe books, particularly the grammar, was afterwards reprinted at Amſterdam; but it ſhould ſeem, have not been productive of the leaſt utility.

them,

them, as well as the diſtraction that prevailed in the Councils of their Eaſt India Company, which deterred men of ſcience from accepting any employment in their ſervice, prevented them from attaining that accurate and profound knowledge in oriental politicks and learning which might have been expected from their talents. And it has been reſerved for the enlightened genius of Britain, at once to explore the ſources of the opulence, and to unlock the repoſitories of the literature of Aſia.

Before I proceed to give a deſcription of Ceylon, it is neceſſary to lay before the reader a brief account of the writers who have treated the ſame ſubject, both in ancient and modern times, and of the degree of credibility to which they are ſeverally entitled.

The firſt diſtinguiſhed writer of Antiquity who mentions Ceylon, under the name of *Tabrobana*, is STRABO, who gives an account of the Iſland, taken from the Journal of *Oneſicritus*, an officer whom ALEXANDER had ſent on a voyage to explore the ſouthern parts of India. Oneſicritus, like many other

other travellers, has given his fancy conſiderable ſcope; but his deſcription of the Iſland though extremely fabulous, is in ſome parts ſufficiently correct, to prove, that it muſt be Ceylon *.

PLINY enters very largely on the ſubject of this Iſland †.—He quotes the authority of *Megaſthenes*, who had written a hiſtory of India, and of *Eratoſthenes*, a geometrician, to prove the fertility of its ſoil, and its contiguity to the Continent. Eratoſthenes is related by Pliny to have drawn much of his information from four Ambaſſadors, *actually* ſent by the King of this iſland to Rome, in the reign of the Emperor Claudius; in conſequence of the ſplendid account given of the Romans, by a freed ſlave of a farmer of the Roman cuſtoms in the Red Sea, who had been driven on the coaſt of Ceylon by a ſtorm. This ſtory of the Ambaſſadors, if Ceylon be the iſland to which it refers, is altogether a palpable fiction; as the religious reſtrictions, no leſs than the rigid cuſtoms of the Cingaleſe, and

* Vide Strabo, Lib. XV. p. 1013.

† Pliny, Lib. VI. c. 22.

the

the haughty ſpirit of their Kings, are totally repugnant to the idea of ſuch an embaſſy. But the iſland to which the freed ſlave was driven by the ſtorm, that carried his veſſel out of the Red Sea, was moſt probably *Socotra*, a ſmall iſland off Cape Gardefan, on the coaſt of Ethiopia;—as beſides other weighty objections to Pliny's ſuppoſition of its being *Tabrobana*, (Ceylon,) it is hardly poſſible, that an open veſſel, carried out of the Red Sea, by a ſtorm, could in either of the monſoons be driven acroſs the Indian Ocean to Ceylon. [For the north-weſt monſoon which prevails in the Red Sea, from May to October, does not extend farther than the ſtraights of Babelmandel, from whence to Cape Gardefan, the wind, during theſe months, blows with great violence from weſt to ſouth, and beyond that promontory it blows with equal violence from the ſouth-weſt from May to October, over the whole extent of the Indian Ocean. During the other half of the year, the winds blow, in theſe different ſeas, exactly from the oppoſite points of the compaſs. It appears, therefore, ſufficiently evident, that an undecked

decked veſſel, unleſs conducted by very ſkilful ſeamen and navigators, could not have croſſed the Indian Ocean, in the ſouth-weſt monſoon, which is always extremely boiſterous; and that even in the north-eaſt monſoon, ſuch a voyage required a degree of ſkill, which, in ancient times, no people but the Phœnicians are known to have poſſeſſed. And it is perfectly abſurd to imagine, that a veſſel could be *driven by a ſtorm*, from the Red Sea to Ceylon, in either monſoon, as the courſe from the Red Sea to Ceylon is weſt-ſouth-weſt; and conſequently in the paſſage from the one to the other, you have in either monſoon a ſide-wind, which, though extremely favourable to veſſels as they are now conſtructed, was adverſe, and often deſtructive to the ſlender barks that traverſed the Red Sea, before the improvements made in ſhip-building by the Arabs, in the 11th century of the Chriſtian æra. I ſhould not have detained the reader ſo long in ſhewing the fallacy of this account of the voyage of the *freed ſlave*, but from its having been credited by ſo eminent a writer as Pliny; who, though very inaccurate in his deſcription

deſcription of Ceylon, was among the beſt geographers, and was unqueſtionably the beſt naturaliſt of antiquity.

The curious narrative of the voyage of *Iambulus*, preſerved by *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. II. c. 4. and very fully commented on by the celebrated *Baptiſto Remuſio*, in his valuable collection of voyages, would, in many reſpects, deſerve to be noticed here; were it not pretty evident from *Remuſio*'s account, that the iſland in which *Iambulus* is ſaid to have landed, and reſided ſeven years, was not Ceylon, but either Java, or Sumatra *.

PTOLEMY gives a very particular account of this iſland. He mentions all the vegetable and mineral productions, for which it is now celebrated; and in treating of the animals of the iſland, he particularizes the elephant, the breed of which, he very correctly ſtates, to be ſuperior to that of any part of the continent of India. He alſo tells us, that the ancient name of *Tabrobana*, was *Simondi*, but in his time it was called

* Mr. Marſden, however, is of opinion that Sumatra was unknown to the ancients.

Salice,

Salice, which indeed reſembles a common name it has to this day, on the coaſt of the Indian peninſula, *Selen-Dive*. The principal place in the iſland mentioned by Ptolemy, is *Anurrgrammum*, an ancient city, called by the natives *Anarodgurro*, and of which veſtiges are ſtill to be ſeen. Upon the whole the deſcription of Ceylon by this great geographer, when compared with the accounts given of it by modern travellers, clearly proves, that the iſland was well known to the Romans. ARRIAN, in his invaluable little treatiſe, intitled, *The Circumnavigation of the Erythræan Sea*, deſcribes the ſituation of Cape Comorin and Ceylon with ſingular accuracy.

MELA alſo mentions this iſland; but he betrays the moſt deplorable ignorance, both as to its extent and ſituation.

The next writer in chronological order who mentions Ceylon, is *Coſmas Indopleuſtes*, an Egyptian merchant who lived in the reign of the Emperor Juſtininian, and who publiſhed a narrative of his travels and voyages in India, which he dignified with the

name of *Chriſtian Topography* *. He gives a ſhort, but accurate, account of Ceylon which he calls *Silendiba*. Scarce any place in the world has got a greater variety of names. This one, however, is eaſily accounted for; as it is merely a Greek termination given to the true name;—*ſ* or *b* is often put for *u*, and conſequently *Silendiba* is the ſame with *Silendiva*, that is *Sielen*—but, more properly *Silán Iſland*. The narrative of *Coſmas* is intitled to credit, and may be peruſed with advantage.

One of the leading principles of the Mahommedan religion, which teaches its diſciples to propagate their faith, by whatever means, either the virtues or the vices of men can miniſter; was no leſs powerful in the early periods of their hiſtory, in infuſing that wild fanaticiſm which conducted them to conqueſt, than of inſpiring that ſpirit of adventure which opened to them the benefits of commerce. Hence the Arabs in the fourth century of the *Hegira* †, were en-

* It is preſerved in *Montfaucon's* Collections.

† *Hegira* ſignifies the flight of Mohammed from Mecca, from which event the Moſlems date their æra.

couraged

couraged to ſail acroſs the Indian Ocean, and even to extend their voyages to the Eaſtern Archipelago. But in theſe voyages, the ports on the ſouthern parts of the Coaſt of Malabar, and thoſe of Ceylon, were the places at which they chiefly traded. Of this we have very ſufficient teſtimony in the voyages of two Arabian merchants; but particularly in the diſcourſe * of *Abu Zeid al Haſan*, of *Siraf*, which is in fact a commentary upon them; and which not only gives a juſt deſcription of Ceylon, as to the face of the country, and many of the leading features in the character of the Cingaleſe, but likewiſe an account of China, and of ſome of the Eaſtern provinces of India.

* This work, with the Voyages above mentioned, was tranſlated from the Arabick by the learned *Abbi Renaudot*, and publiſhed by him in Paris in 1718. He obſerves that the voyages were written in the year of the *Hegira* 237, and the diſcourſe of Abu Zeid al Haſan, in the 303 of the *Hegira*. The authenticity of Renaudot's publication was long doubted, both in France and England. But M. de Guignes, after a long ſearch among the Colbert manuſcripts, that were depoſited in the King's library, found the identical Arabick manuſcript which Renaudot had tranſlated.

MARCO POLO, whoſe name is too well known, to need any deſcription, viſited Ceylon in the courſe of his travels in India; but the account that he has given of it, accords too much with that love of the marvellous, for which he is diſtinguiſhed, to deſerve a ſerious peruſal.

The next traveller who deſcribes Ceylon, is JOHN ALBERT DE MANDELSLOE, whoſe obſervations, though brief, are extremely accurate.

Ceylon was not neglected by the celebrated *Tavernier*, who touched at the iſland in 1648, in his voyage from Batavia to Europe; and who has deſcribed, the little he ſaw of it, with his uſual accuracy.

Captain RIBEYRO, an officer in the Portugueze army, who had ſerved in Ceylon, publiſhed a hiſtory of the iſland in 1680, which he preſented to the King of Portugal. But he confines himſelf almoſt entirely to the hiſtory of the Portugueze eſtabliſhments, the cauſes of the decline, and final loſs of which, he points out with ability and truth; and he paints with a bold pencil, that mixture of pride, avarice, cruelty, ignorance, ſloth,

ſloth, and luxury, which in conjunction with the arms of the Dutch, ſubdued his degenerate countrymen.

PHILIP BALDÆUS, a Dutch clergyman, who reſided many years in Ceylon, publiſhed at Amſterdam, nearly at the ſame time, a very exact hiſtory of the wars between the Dutch and Portugueze in Ceylon: and in the courſe of his narration, he occaſionally touches with great accuracy, on ſome of the cuſtoms and religious ceremonies of the Cingaleſe.

But of all the accounts that have been written of Ceylon, that of our countryman ROBERT KNOX, is the moſt faithful and complete. He lived twenty years among the Cingaleſe, chiefly at the capital of the King of Candy; and being a man of ſenſe and obſervation, he neither ſeems to have allowed any thing to have eſcaped his notice, nor to have exaggerated, except in one or two inſtances, any part of his relation *.

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* He publiſhed *his hiſtorical relation of Ceylon* in the year 1681. He was chief mate of the ſhip *Ann*, commanded by his father Robert Knox, in the ſervice of the Old Eaſt India Company; this ſhip, on her return home from Madras,

The veracity of Mr. Knox, in all material points, is fully proved, in a little tract, entitled, "The Life and Adventures of Chriſtopher Wolfe, with his voyage to Ceylon;" a work in itſelf perfectly accurate, and extremely uſeful and entertaining.

The publick are indebted to the learned Doctor THUNBERG, for the only ſcientifick account which has yet been given by any traveller, of the natural productions of Ceylon; and it is much to be regretted, he did not ſurvey the interior of the country.

Such are all the principal writers who have employed their pens in deſcribing this

Madras, was obliged to put into the harbour of *Trincomallée*, to refit, having been diſmaſted in a violent ſtorm. Here the captain and his crew injudiciouſly landed, and carried on trade with the natives. The King of Candy, incenſed at their doing ſo, without his permiſſion, ſent orders to make the captain and officers priſoners, and to detain the ſhip until their conduct ſhould be inveſtigated. The captain, his ſon, and ſome part of the crew, being on ſhore when the King's order arrived, were immediately ſeized; but the people on board the ſhip refuſed to obey the mandate, weighed anchor, and ſailed for England. The captain ſhortly after died of the harſh treatment he received; but his ſon ſurvived, and after living twenty-two years in the iſland, effected his eſcape.

delightful

delightful iſland; but I cannot permit myſelf to conclude the liſt, without mentioning (although he never viſited Ceylon) the illuſtrious and venerable Mr. PENNANT, who is now enjoying the dignity of claſſick repoſe, in the ſerene evening of an uſeful life *.

It is from theſe authorities, and from my converſation with Mr. BOYD reſpecting Ceylon, that I have derived the greateſt part of the information, which I ſhall now endeavour, as conciſely as poſſible, to give the reader.

The Iſland of Ceylon is ſituated between 5° 46′ 10″ and 9° 50′ 40″ of north latitude, and between 79° 36′ 50″ and 82° 10′ 00″ of longitude, eaſt from Greenwich. The length of the iſland from *Dondra-head*, ſouth, to *Tellipeli*, north, is 270 miles; the greateſt breadth is from *Columbo* to *Trincolée*, 160 miles. From *Dondra-head*, as far north as *Trincomallée*, its direction is due north and ſouth, from the latitude of *Trincomallée* to that of *Tellipeli*, it runs north by weſt, and

* See his account of Ceylon, in the 1ſt vol. of his View of Hinduſtan.—Since writing the above, Mr. PENNANT has paid his debt to nature.

ſouth

ſouth by eaſt. The ſhores of Ceylon are waſhed on the north and north-eaſt, by the *Bay of Bengal*, and on the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, ſouth and ſouth-weſt, by the great Indian Ocean: on the weſt it is bounded by the Gulph of *Manâar*, which ſeparates it from Cape *Comoren* and the Coaſt of *Madura;* and on the north-weſt, it is divided from the coaſt of *Tanjore* and *Marawar*, by *Palk's Paſſage*. This ſtraight is celebrated for the extenſive Pearl fiſhery * which was carried on in it, on both ſhores, by the Dutch, and which is now carried on by Great-Britain. It is only navigable for ſmall veſſels; and at the narroweſt place, called Adam's-bridge, from the ſmall iſland of *Manâar*, on the coaſt of Ceylon, to the ſtill ſmaller one on the oppoſite coaſt of *Ramiſuram*, about 20 miles acroſs, can only be paſſed by the boats

* In the year 1771, *Marrua*, a ſmall place, within a few miles of *Tutucorin*, was taken poſſeſſion of by the *Nabob* of the Carnatic, who immediately laid claim to the Pearl Fiſhery, and to which demand the Dutch, for whatever reaſons, thought fit to accede. *Van Imhof*, in his elaborate Memorial reſpecting the ſtate of the Dutch poſſeſſions in India, conſiders *Morrua* as the moſt important frontier place of Ceylon.

employed

employed in the Fiſhery, or veſſels of nearly the ſame ſize.

The northern part of the iſland is flat, and in ſome places ſwampy; but on that account extremely favourable to the growth of rice, large fields of which are divided by lofty woods, covered with perpetual foliage, abounding with all the fruits common to tropical countries, and plentifully ſtocked with all the animals that are to be found in the foreſts of India. The north and north-weſt ſhores of the iſland, from point *Pedro* to *Negombo*, are indented by inlets of the ſea, ſome of which, were it not for the ſhallowneſs of the water, would form commodious harbours. The largeſt of theſe arms of the ſea extends almoſt acroſs the iſland, from *Mulipatti*, on the eaſt ſide, to the town of *Jaffnapatnam*, on the weſt, and forms that diſtrict, which takes the name of the latter place. But all the other ſhores of the iſland are bold and rocky; and excepting a few reefs on the ſouth-eaſt ſide, preſent no dangers to the mariner. Sailing along the ſouthern ſhores of Ceylon, from *Trincomallée* to *Negombo*, the face of the country exhibits to the eye of taſte, a variety of

of landſcapes, at once beautiful and grand. With a good teleſcope you diſtinctly perceive the land in ſome parts riſing gradually, in others abruptly from the ſhore,—every where cloathed in verdure, interſperſed with villages, ſhaded by ſtately trees,—divided into corn-fields in many places incloſed with quickſet hedges,—farther back in the country you behold plantations of coffee, and whole woods of cinnamon, and various other arbmaticks, frequently overtopped by the lofty tamorind and the palm, occaſionally giving way to the majeſtic banyan, and intermixed throughout with trees bearing their bloſſoms and their fruit together. The eye at length loſes ſight of theſe woods on the acclivities of ſtupendous mountains, whoſe broken precipices, tufted with old trees, overlook the plains, and whoſe ſhaggy tops tower above the clouds. It is ſcarcely poſſible for the imagination to picture ſcenery more magnificent and delightful.

The territory which the Dutch acquired in Ceylon, and which now belongs to Great Britain, extends along the whole of the ſea-coaſts of the iſland, except about ten miles

of

of the eaſtern coaſt, in the diſtrict of *Seavara,* which the King of Candy ſtill retains. In the cinnamon country, on the weſt and ſouth-weſt ſide of the iſland, from *Columbo* to *Matura*, our poſſeſſions ſtretch about 24 miles inland, where they border on the King of Candy's dominions. On the eaſt-ſide at *Batticola* and *Trincomallée*, they do not extend into the country above 12 miles. On the north ſide at *Jaffnapatnam* and *Marrua*, about the ſame diſtance.

Columbo, the principal town in the Engliſh territory, and the reſidence of the Governor, is prettily ſituated, in one of the moſt fertile, though not the moſt populous, parts of the iſland, in which rice fields, meadow ground, and cinnamon groves, are beautifully mingled. The town of *Columbo* is neatly built, large, populous, and extremely clean. It was tolerably well fortified by the Dutch, but from its natural advantages is capable of being made a very ſtrong place. There is a ſchool here, for the propagation of the Chriſtian religion. And the native Chriſtians, Roman Catholicks, and Proteſtants, alone, have been computed by the Dutch, to

to amount to no leſs than 300,000. Admitting, however, this calculation to be juſt, theſe Chriſtians unqueſtionably conſiſt of the deſcendants of the Portugueze, the offspring of the Dutch by Malabar women, and perhaps a few converts from among the *Parriarhs* or *Chandalos*, a claſs of people rendered infamous in every country where the Hindû religion prevails, from being Hindûs, who have been driven from ſociety, and debarred all intercourſe with their ſeveral ſects, for having violated the ſanctity of thoſe cuſtoms which the faith of Brahmâ enjoins. There is no evidence whatever, of either Mahomedan or Chriſtian zeal, having ever made any conſiderable number of proſelytes from any of the great eſtabliſhed tribes of the Hindû race.

Contiguous to *Columbo* there is a botanical garden, which was eſtabliſhed ſeveral years ago, by the celebrated botaniſt JOHN GIDION LOTEN, of *Utrecht;* and which, I truſt, will not now be neglected. The greateſt diſadvantage attending the ſituation of Columbo, is its open road, which is only ſafe during the months of November, December, January, and February; it being too

too much expoſed for ſhips to ride in with ſecurity, during the changing of the monſoons, and it being altogether impracticable for any veſſel to withſtand the violence of the ſouth-weſt monſoon, from its blowing directly on this coaſt.

About fifteen miles north of *Columbo*, on the ſea coaſt, is *Negombo*, an inconſiderable fortreſs, but the diſtrict in which it is ſituated produces the beſt cinnamon in our poſſeſſions. The next place of conſequence on the coaſt, is *Jaffnapatnam*, which is ſituated at the north end of the iſland, oppoſite to the coaſt of *Tanjore*. It is ſtrongly fortified. On the eaſt ſide of the iſland, the harbour of *Trincomallée*, is the firſt object that claims our attention:—a ſpacious and noble bay, which the whole navy of England may enter with eaſe, and ride in, at all ſeaſons, with perfect ſafety. The harbour is guarded by two fortifications, *Trincomallée* fort, and fort *Oſtenburgh*, the laſt of which ſtands upon a cliff, projecting about 1500 paces into the ſea: but it does not, in its preſent ſtate, ſufficiently cover the ſhipping. It was originally built by the Portugueze, with

with the materials of an auguſt pagoda of exquiſite workmanſhip, which ſtood on the ſame ground that this fortreſs now occupies, and which their frantic bigotry prompted them to demoliſh.

This noble harbour, undoubtedly of great political conſequence to Britiſh India, has, however, two material diſadvantages. The tide does not riſe to a ſufficient height to admit the conſtruction of wet-docks, except for veſſels of an inconſiderable ſize: and the harbour is ſituated in the *only* barren part of the iſland. The country about *Trincomallée* has never been cultivated, and its arid ſoil yields no ſpontaneous productions, —not even any paſturage for cattle. The neareſt farm villages are upwards of twelve miles diſtant, from which the garriſon of *Trincomallee* and Fort *Oſtenburgh* are ſupplied with proviſions.

Eighteen leagues to the ſouthward of *Trincomalleé*, at the head of a deep bay, lies *Batticola*, ſituated in the diſtrict of that name. It is a ſmall fortreſs built by the Dutch; but of great importance, on account of the extreme fertility of the adja-

cent

cent country, which, during a war, or times of ſcarcity in the diſtrict of *Trincomallée*, can amply ſupply the garriſons there with all kinds of proviſions.

Punto Gallo is ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of the iſland, in the rich and beautiful province of *Matura*. This is a very ſmall, and is far from being a ſecure harbour, and would not deſerve any notice here, but from its being the place where all the products of Ceylon are ſhipped for Europe.

Such are the ſituations of the different places in Ceylon, now flouriſhing under the Britiſh flag; and which, if governed by that enlightened policy, which has for a conſiderable period guided the adminiſtration of our Indian affairs, will be productive of many political, if not commercial advantages.

The whole of the interior of Ceylon, excepting the ſmall province of *Coylot*, or the country of the *Wanees*, in the northern part of the iſland, is peopled by the *Gingaleſe*, the aboriginal inhabitants, and under the government of the King of Candy. His dominions

dominions are ſaid to be regularly divided * into provinces and diſtricts; but as neither their number nor ſize, has been accurately aſcertained, I ſhall not run the riſk of miſleading the reader, by adopting the diviſion of Mr. KNOX, as it appears to me to be extremely fanciful, and as I am not ſufficiently informed on the ſubject, either to decide where it is accurate, or to correct its miſtakes. It ſhould ſeem, however, that the kingdom of Candy is divided into about thirty diſtricts, of which the principal is *Candy Uda*, a name ſignifying the "*top of the hills*," and appropriate to that part of the country. Theſe diſtricts are encloſed by lofty and almoſt impenetrable woods, which are preſerved by the King, and reverenced by the people, as the natural bulwarks of their country; and which, therefore, it would be accounted ſacrilege to fell. There are guards regularly ſtationed at all the different paſſages throughout the woods.

The general aſpect of the interior of the iſland, as has been already deſcribed of its

* KNOX on Ceylon.

ſhores,

ſhores, is extremely pictureſque. High mountains, covered with old wood, and wide vales fertilized by innumerable rivulets, every where cultivated, and divided by thick rows of fruit trees, that interſect, and thereby ſecure the beautiful little hamlets that lie ſcattered around, from the ferocious inhabitants of the foreſt, preſent on all ſides the moſt diverſified ſcenery and enchanting proſpects; while they fill the mind with a long train of the moſt pleaſing reflections.

The moſt conſiderable mountain in the iſland is called *Hamalell*, or *Adam's Peak*. It is ſituated in the ſouth-eaſt ſide of *Candy-Uda*, and is of a pyramidical form. On its top there is a large flat ſtone, with an impreſſion on it, ſomething in the ſhape of a man's foot, but conſiderably longer, being about two feet long. There is a tradition among the *Cingaleſe* that *Buddha*, the great author of their religion, *left the print of his foot on this ſtone, when he aſcended to Heaven!* on which account, it is deemed ſacred, and people of all ranks and ages perform annual pilgrimages to it.

Moſt of the rivers in the iſland take their riſe in this mountain, the largeſt of which is, *Mavalagonga*, that falls into the ſea at *Trincomallée*. It is about a gun ſhot in breadth, and is chiefly from 10 to 12 feet deep, for ſeveral miles up from its mouth; but the numerous rocks which intercept its courſe, render it altogether unnavigable for veſſels, that are conſtructed for a ſea voyage, though the *Cingaleſe* have boats upon it, and it might, in many places, be made ſerviceable to the purpoſes of trade. Of this river, Mr. KNOX gives the following account.—"It is ſo deep," ſays he, "that "unleſs it be very dry weather, a man can- "not wade over it, except towards the head "of it. They uſe canoes to paſs over it; "for there are no bridges built over it, "being ſo broad, and the ſtream in the "time of the rains (which in this country "are very great) runs ſo high, that they "cannot make them, neither if they could, "would it be permitted; for the King car- "eth not to make his country eaſy to travel, "but deſires to keep iti ntricate. This river "runs within a mile or leſs of the city of

" Candy. In ſome places of it, full of rocks, " in others clear for three or four miles."

The ſeaſons in *Ceylon*, as at *Cape Comorin*, are entirely under the influence of the monſoon winds. The ſouth-weſt monſoon bringing conſtant rain to the weſtern, and dry weather and a ſerene ſky to the eaſtern parts of the iſland. The ſouth-eaſt monſoon, on the contrary, producing the oppoſite effects. " The rains and dry weather," ſays Mr. KNOX, " part themſelves about " the middle of the iſland, as often times " I have ſeen, being on the one ſide of a " mountain, called *Cauras-King*, rainy " weather, and as ſoon as I got on the other, " dry, and ſo exceeding hot, that I could " ſcarcely walk on the ground, being, as " the manner there is, barefoot."

The iſland produces ſome uſeful minerals, and a variety of gems. Iron, copper, and black-lead, are found in great abundance: and one of the mountains in *Candy-Uda* is ſaid to contain a gold mine, the working of which is prohibited, by the prudent policy of the King. All the precious ſtones

in Hinduſtân, are to be met with in Ceylon *.

With regard to the *vegetable kingdom*, this iſland may very truly be denominated the garden of Aſia, for, excepting the tea-plant, and the *mangusteen* of the *Malay* iſlands, all the trees, plants, and flowers, of that great and fertile region of the globe, ſeem collected here:—beſides the celebrated plant peculiar to itſelf. Of this laſt only, it were neceſſary to give any deſcription in this place. But as the far-famed BREAD-FRUIT, is generally ſuppoſed to belong excluſively to *Otaheite*, and the neighbouring iſlands in the Pacific Ocean, it is eſſential to inform the reader, that it has grown in Ceylon from time out of memory, where it is certainly indigenous, as has been very ſatisfactorily proved, twenty years ago, by Dr. THUNBERG; a fact with which our government appear to have been unacquainted, by having ſent Capt. BLIGH twice to Otaheite, for that, which

* See a very ſcientific and particular account of them, in Dr. THUNBERG's Travels, Vol. IV. p. 218.

might

might ſo eaſily have been procured in Ceylon. Of this plant there are two ſpecies; one the *Integrifolia*, the other the *Incitus* of LINNÆUS *. Mr. KNOX mentions both of them. He calls the *Integrifolia* by the Ceyloneſe name *Warragah*. The other kind he calls *Vellas*. This ſpecies is called *Jacca* by the *Portugueze*. It is found in *Sumatra*, as well as in ſome parts of *Tanjore*, and the Carnatic. Dr. THUNBERG'S account of theſe fruits, is to be found in Vol. LXIX, of the Tranſactions of the Royal Society, under the general name of *Tſidadium*. He brought with him, from Ceylon, ſome hundred ſhrubs of both ſpecies, with the intention of tranſplanting them in Holland; but he unfortunately loſt them all, in a ſevere gale of wind, when he was within a few days ſail of his deſtined port.—The *Cingaleſe* uſe the *Vellas* as bread, and in times of ſcarcity inſtead of rice.

The *Laurus Cinnamomum*, or Cinnamon, which is a ſpecies of Laurel that grows to

* Vide Suppl. p. 412.

the

the height of twenty feet, and which, notwithſtanding the opinion of Mr. TAYLOR WHITE, Mr. COMBES *, and even Mr. PENNANT himſelf, I am inclined to think, is peculiar to Ceylon, and a ſpecies of the *Laurus*, totally diſtinct from the *Caſſia*. And were this a fit place to diſcuſs the queſtion, I could ſupport my opinion on the authority of a Botaniſt † of great talents and reſearch, who is at preſent employed in exploring the interior of *Sumatra*. The ardent and adventurous philoſophy of this gentleman, not content to purſue fame in cultivated regions, and through beaten ways, has led him to forego the comforts of ſociety, to encounter the moſt imminent perils, to penetrate into an unknown country, and to mix with man in his rudeſt ſtate;—and thus by laying open new ſources of information, to widen the ſphere of uſeful knowledge, and to promote the intereſts of his country.

The *Cinnamon* tree grows ſpontaneouſly all over Ceylon, excepting the diſtrict of *Jaffnapatnam*.

* A gentleman who reſided ſome time in *Sumatra*.

† Mr. CHARLES CAMPBELL.

napatnam. In the diſtricts of *Columbo,* and *Matura,* the Dutch have improved the bark by cultivation. " The ſuperfine cin-
" namon," ſays Dr. THUNBERG, " is
" known by the following properties, viz.
" in the firſt place it is thin, and rather pli-
" able; it ought commonly to be about the
" ſubſtance of royal paper, or ſomewhat
" thicker; ſecondly, it is of a light colour,
" and rather inclinable to yellow, bordering
" but little upon brown. Thirdly, it poſ-
" ſeſſes a ſweetiſh taſte, and at the ſame time
" is not ſtronger than may be borne without
" pain, and is not ſucceeded by any after
" taſte. Cinnamon is barked in the woods
" at two different ſeaſons of the year. The
" firſt is termed the *grand harveſt,* and laſts
" from April to Auguſt: the ſecond is the
" *ſmall harveſt,* and laſts from November to
" the month of January *." This being the ſtaple commodity of the country, the culture of it is attended to with peculiar care.

* Dr. THUNBERG then proceeds to deſcribe with ſcrupulous accuracy, the manner of barking the cinnamon: but as the paſſage is too long to be quoted here, the reader is referred to the 4th vol. of his Travels, p. 199.

The

The ſtate of agriculture in Ceylon appears to be as far advanced as that of the neighbouring continent; and the iſland produces all the different grains that are to be found there,—though not in ſuch abundance as the benignity of the climate, and fertility of the ſoil, would lead us to expect. For it ſeldom yields a larger crop of rice, than its inhabitants, in the courſe of the year, can conſume. This is to be attributed to a want of induſtry among the *Cingaleſe*; who, though in many reſpects, as highly civilized as any other race of Hindûs, do in this inſtance, from their inſular ſituation, and their living in a mountainous country, ſtill retain that diſtinguiſhing characteriſtick of a paſtoral people.

The Zoology of this iſland, as well as of India at large, has been ſo copiouſly treated and ably delineated by Mr. PENNANT, who compiled his intereſting Works on the ſubject from the obſervations and drawings of Mr. LOTEN, Dr. THUNBERG, M. D'ABSONVILLE, and other able naturaliſts, that it were equally preſumptuous and unneceſſary to offer any account of my own. I ſhall therefore

therefore deſcribe thoſe animals moſt worthy of notice, nearly in the words of Mr. PENNANT.

" The race of *Elephants* in Ceylon, are large, and more adapted for war, than thoſe of the continent of India. They are at preſent taken in different ways, and after being tamed, are ſent to the great annual fair at *Jaffnapatnam*. The merchants of *Malabar* and *Bengal*, have notice of the numbers and qualities of the elephants to be ſent up for ſale; ſometimes a hundred are ſold at one fair. A full grown beaſt, 12 or 14 feet high, will be ſold at the rate of two thouſand dollars.

" The method of taking the elephants * is by a ſnare, or *elephant-toil*, conſtructed of ſtout cocoa-trees, almoſt in the form of a triangle. At one of the angles there is an opening, fortified with ſtakes, planted cloſe to each other, and held firmly together by ropes. This opening is ſo narrow that only one elephant can enter at a time. When

* This deſcription of the manner of taking elephants is related by Dr. THUNBERG, who had been an eye-witneſs to theſe noble animals being drove into the toil.

orders

orders are given for an elephant chaſe, a great multitude of men are ſent into the woods, who encompaſs a certain extent of ground known to be frequented by elephants. After this, they gradually draw nearer, beat drums, and contract the area of the circle; in the mean time the elephants approach nearer and nearer the ſide on which the toil is placed. Finally, torches are lighted up, to terrify theſe huge animals, and to force them to enter the toil. The laſt time that elephants were caught in this manner, their numbers amounted to upwards of a hundred, and on former occaſions has ſometimes amounted to one hundred and thirty." The firſt care of the captors is to bring the elephants out of the *toil*, and to tame them. For this purpoſe one, two, or more elephants are placed at the ſide where the opening is, through which each elephant is let out ſingly, when he is immediately bound faſt, with ſtrong ropes, to the tame ones, who diſcipline him with their proboſcis, till he likewiſe becomes tame, and ſuffers himſelf to be handled, and managed at pleaſure. This diſcipline is ſometimes accompliſhed in a few days,

days, by bringing the wild elephant under controul by hunger.

" The *horſes* of this iſland are deſcended from the Arabian breed.

Buffaloes are as common here as on the continent, and, as is the caſe in *Sumatra* *, are the only animals uſed for rural œconomy.

Monkies ſwarm all over the iſland, and are as large as thoſe of *Sumatra* and *Java*.—The *Wanderow*, a ſpecies mentioned by KNOX, with a long white beard from ear to ear, a black face, and dark grey body, is, as far as we have information, peculiar to Ceylon.

Wild-boars, *bears*, *jackalls*, and *tigers*, abound in the woods.

The *Naga*, or as the Portugueze call it, the *Cabra de Capello*, or hooded ſnake, is very common in Ceylon.

The vaſt ſnake called *Boa*, and *Anacandaia*, by the *Cingaleſe*, is to be found here: though not of ſo large a ſize as thoſe men-

* *Vide* MARSDEN's Hiſtory of Sumatra, p. 94.

tioned

tioned by Dr. SHAW *. It is doubtleſs the ſame monſtrous ſerpent deſcribed by *Quintus Curtius*, and *Arrian*, which aſtoniſhed *Alexander* in his march near the banks of the *Indus*.

The inſects of Ceylon are of uncommon ſizes; ſcorpions have been found there upwards of eight inches long; *Scolopendræ*, ſeven inches in length; and of ſpiders, the *Aranea aricularia*, with legs four inches long, and the body covered with thick black hair.

Of the birds of Ceylon, the only one I ſhall mention is the *Tailor-bird*, becauſe it is leſs known, and more ſingular, than any other bird of the Eaſt. It is thus deſcribed by Mr. PENNANT, in his *Indian Zoology*.

" Had Providence left the feathered tribe " unendowed with any particular inſtinct, " the birds of the torrid zone would have " built their neſts in the ſame unguarded " manner as thoſe of *Europe:* but there, " the leſſer ſpecies, having a certain pre-

* *Vide* the Naturaliſt's Miſcellany, in which theſe ſnakes are compared for ſize to the maſt of a ſhip.

" ſcience

" ſcience of the dangers that ſurround
" them, and of their own weakneſs, ſuſ-
" pend their neſts at the extreme branches
" of the trees: they are conſcious of in-
" habiting a climate replete with enemies to
" them and their young; with ſnakes that
" twine up the bodies of the trees, and apes
" that are perpetually in ſearch of prey;
" but, heaven-inſtructed, they elude the gli-
" ding of the one, and the activity of the
" other."

" The brute creation in the torrid zone,
" are more at enmity with one another,
" than in other climates; and the birds
" are obliged to exert unuſual artifice in
" placing their little broods out of the reach
" of an invader. Each aims at the ſame
" end, though by different means. Some
" form their penſile neſt in the ſhape of a
" purſe, deep and open at the top; and
" others ſtill more cautious, with an en-
" trance at the very bottom, forming their
" lodge near the ſummit.

" But the little ſpecies we deſcribe, ſeems
" to have greater diffidence than the others;
" it will not truſt its neſt even to the extre-

" mity

" mity of a ſlender twig, but makes one " more advance to ſafety, by fixing it to " the leaf itſelf.

" It picks up a dead leaf, and ſurprizing " to relate, ſews it to the ſide of a living " one, its ſlender bill being the needle, and " its thread ſome fine fibres; the lining, " feathers, goſſamer, and down. Its eggs are " white; the colour of the bird light yel- " low; its length 3 inches; its weight only " three-ſixteenths of an ounce; ſo that the " materials of the neſt, and its own ſize, are " not likely to draw down an habitation " that hangs on ſo ſlight a tenure."

The other birds of the iſland are deſcribed by Mr. PENNANT with equal accuracy; but as moſt of them are known all over Hinduſtân, it would be wholly ſuperfluous to notice them.

In the fiſhes of Ceylon there is nothing peculiar;—they are preciſely the ſame as thoſe found on the coaſts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, and among the iſlands of the *Indian Archipelago*.

Having thus taken a rapid ſurvey of the Natural Hiſtory of Ceylon, I ſhall now proceed

ceed to the more important and arduous part of the account which I have promiſed to give,—a ſketch of the character, manners, religion, and civil government of that ancient people, who inhabit this diſtinguiſhed iſland.

The aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon, conſiſt of two claſſes of people, the *Cingaleſe* and the *Vaddahs*. The *Cingaleſe* appear from their language, letters, and ancient monuments, to have been, beyond time of memory, a race of Hindûs inſtructed in all the arts of civil life, nearly in as high a degree as the nations of the neighbouring continent. The *Vaddahs* are a people ſtill in the rudeſt ſtage of ſocial life;—they live emboſomed in the woods, or in the hollows of the mountains;—hunting their ſole employment, and providing ſuſtenance for the paſſing day their only care. Whether the *Cingaleſe* and *Vaddahs* were originally one people, differing only in thoſe peculiar characteriſticks which diſtinguiſh the inhabitants of lowlands, from thoſe of adjoining mountains in every part of the world; is a queſtion, which if it were poſſible, would not be very material to reſolve. Equally fruitleſs and unneceſſary would

would it be to inquire, whether the firſt inhabitants of this iſland were indigenous, or adventitious ſettlers from the coaſts of *Coromandel* and *Malabar*. I ſhall not waſte the reader's time in ſo unprofitable a diſcuſſion. It will be ſufficient to remark, that if Ceylon was peopled from the continent, as it is certainly natural to ſuppoſe,—the operation of a phyſical, without the aid of any moral * cauſe, has in a long ſucceſſion of ages produced a wider and more ſtriking difference between theſe people and the race from which they are ſaid to be deſcended, than is any where elſe to be found in the hiſtory of mankind.

The *Vaddahs* ſpeak a dialect of the *Cingaleſe* language, and ſome of them acknowledge the authority of the King of Candy. Near *Hourly*, the moſt remote and mountainous part of the King's dominions, the neighbouring *Vaddah* families are not wholly unacquainted with the principles of barter. They exchange with the *Cingaleſe*, elephants

* For the principles and many of the forms of their religion, laws, and government, are the ſame as thoſe of other Hindû nations.

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teeth, and deer's fleſh, for arrows, cloth, &c. This practice, however, is by no means general; for two-thirds of them hold no communication whatever with the *Cingaleſe*, and have an utter antipathy to ſtrangers. They are very robuſt and hardy:—in their diſpoſitions reſolute and inflexible, but iraſcible and treacherous; in their manners they aſſume a courteſy hardly reconcileable with the character of any untutored people, far leſs with the other qualities of their own. With an almoſt brutal ignorance of all human acquirements, they however vindicate their own character, and preſerve the dignity of their kind, by a BELIEF in GOD, and by a ſtrict obſervance of divine worſhip, indued with the ſolemnities of religion, though they be deformed by idolatry, and tarniſhed with ſuperſtitious ſacrifices. In ſome places they have erected temples; but for the moſt part they perform worſhip at an altar conſtructed of bamboos, under the ſhade of the banyan-tree. Their religious doctrine ſeems to conſiſt of ſome indiſtinct notions of the fundamental principles of the Braminical faith.

They worſhip a particular God *, whom they believe to have deſcended from Heaven many millions of years ago, to inſtruct them in the duties of life. To him, they offer up ſacrifices at all their feſtivals; and through his favour they hope for eternal bliſs, or from his enmity they dread eternal puniſhment. The *Vaddahs* live in families, or ſmall tribes, each of which is governed by a chieftain, ſelected from among the ſtrongeſt and moſt dexterous of their huntſmen. To have killed a certain number of deer, is at once the greateſt ambition, and higheſt praiſe of a youthful *Vaddah*. It not only gains him the applauſe of the men, but alſo recommends him to the favour of the women. —When a youth ſolicits a girl in marriage from her parents, it is required of him to mention what ſucceſs he has had in hunting; and if he obtains their conſent, the portion they give their daughter is paid *in hunting dogs*, the number of which is equal to the deer

* The name is not mentioned by KNOX, the only writer who gives a faithful account of theſe people.

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he has ſlain. In this ſtate of life, there exiſt, in the mountains of Ceylon, ſeveral thouſands of the human race, in whom, example hath called forth and embodied that ſpirit of religion, or belief in ſome preſiding Providence, which is implanted in the nature of man, without having inſpired that wiſh to meliorate their condition, which is the living principle of civilization and improvement. Secured in their independence by their ſituation and their poverty, and ſupplied from their woods with all the neceſſaries of life, that the climate requires, they look down from their rugged precipices, on the cultivated vales of their neighbours, with the moſt frigid indifference. The cloathing and rich trappings, the comfortable dwellings and fruitful fields, the arts and luxuries of the *Cingaleſe*, excite no feelings of ſurpriſe, no ſentiments of admiration, no deſire of imitation, not even any emotions of envy, in the ſluggiſh boſoms of the naked and houſeleſs *Vaddahs*,—in whoſe ſtubborn minds no love of induſtry takes root, no emulation quickens, nothing, but the groſſer paſſions, grows. And this extraordinary race exhi-

bits the phenomenon of a people practiſing a religion, rational and benevolent and mild in its principles, yet living for a ſeries of ages almoſt in a ſtate of quieſcent barbariſm, with the example of arts and civilization perpetually before them.

The *Cingaleſe*, who have already been ſo often mentioned, and who are the ſubjects of the King of Candy, are, perhaps, the moſt handſome, both in their perſons and countenances, of the whole Hindû race. Reſembling the Hindûs of *Bahar*, in their complexions, their features have the acuteneſs, and beſpeak the intelligence, of Frenchmen. In height, the men are from 5 feet 6 inches, to 5 feet 10; the women about 5 feet. The men, though not exactly ſtraight, nor well proportioned in their limbs, are yet extremely nimble, active, and hardy. The women, though not fair, nor beautiful, are yet exquiſitely delicate and graceful. The men wear a muſlin cloth wrapped round their loins, like the Hindûs of Bengal, with a jacket buttoned at the wriſts, and gathered at the ſhoulders like a ſhirt; on their heads a red cap, with flaps that cover

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their ears; they wear a handſome ſhort hanger, and on their right ſide, a knife of conſiderable length. The dreſs of the women is a waiſtcoat of white calico, embroidered with blue and red flowers, very prettily wrought, over which is looſely thrown a white muſlin cloth, proportioned in fineneſs and length to the rank of the wearer: a piece of fancy-coloured ſilk is worn on the head, ſufficiently large to cover the hair, which is done up with much neatneſs; and their ears, necks, arms, and ancles, are adorned with jewels.

The men are grave and dignified, yet courteous and elegant in their deportment; penetrating and ſagacious in underſtanding, they are prompt, judicious, and intelligent in publick affairs; and ſenſible, temperate and prudent in private life:—fertile and lively in imagination, they are ingenious, ſubtle, and eloquent. Calm, but reſolute in their tempers, it is equally difficult to provoke and to appeaſe their anger:—indolent in their diſpoſitions, they are averſe from labour:—languid in their paſſions, they are little ſuſceptible of the delicacies and

and raptures of love, or of the ſympathies and enthuſiaſm of friendſhip; but, therefore, moderate in their deſires, they are even-minded, unaſſuming, and gentle.—Selfiſh in their principles of action, they are often goaded by avarice to the violation of their promiſes; but filled with the moſt awful reverence for a religion which inculcates the moſt ſublime ſentiments of humanity, and which is interwoven with the whole ſyſtem of their laws and civil polity, they are unchangeable in their worſhip to God, devout in their love for their country, and uniform in their charities to man.

The *Cingaleſe* women exhibit a ſtriking contraſt to thoſe of all other oriental nations, in ſome of the moſt prominent and diſtinctive features of their character. Inſtead of that lazy apathy, inſipid modeſty, and ſour auſterity, which have characterized the ſex throughout the Aſiatick world, in every period of its hiſtory; in this iſland they poſſeſs that active ſenſibility, winning baſhfulneſs, and amiable eaſe, for which the women of modern Europe are peculiarly famed. The *Cingaleſe* women are not merely

merely the ſlaves and miſtreſſes, but in many reſpects, the companions and friends of their huſbands; for though the men be authorized by law to hold their wives and daughters in tyrannical ſubjection, yet their ſociable and placable diſpoſitions, ſoften the rigour of their domeſtic policy. And POLYGAMY being unknown*, and DIVORCE permitted

* "In this country," ſays KNOX, "each man, even "the greateſt, hath but one wife; but a woman often "has two huſbands. For it is lawful and common with "them for two brothers to keep houſe together with one "wife, and the children do acknowledge and call both "fathers." *Vide* KNOX *on Ceylon*, *p.* 94.

A plurality of huſbands is alſo allowed and more extenſively and generally practiſed in *Boutân* and *Thibet*, where one wife ſometimes cohabits with all the males of a numerous family, without producing any jealouſy among them. But there is no other people in Aſia, beſides the *Cingaleſe*, who do not in a greater, or a leſs degree, practiſe polygamy. It is permitted by the religion and laws of *Brâhma*, though it has in all ages been leſs common among the *Hindûs*, than any other people on the continent of Aſia. Polyandry, however, is directly contrary to one of the fundamental principles of the Hindû law of marriage, which not only poſitively forbids women to marry twice, but *recommends* them to burn with their deceaſed huſbands;—a ſacrifice, which as well as ſome other of the rites and ceremonies of the Braminical

permitted among the *Cingaleſe*, the men have none of that conſtitutional jealouſy, which has given birth to the voluptuous and unmanly deſpotiſm that is practiſed over the weaker ſex, in the moſt enlightened nations, and ſanctioned by the various religions of Aſia. The *Cingaleſe* neither keep their women in confinement, nor impoſe on them any humiliating reſtraints. "The greateſt *ladies* in the land," ſays KNOX, "will frequently talk and diſcourſe "with any men they pleaſe, although their "huſbands be preſent."

The houſes of the *Cingaleſe* peaſantry reſemble the cottages of the *Ryots* of Bengal. They are either built of clay or rattans, and thatched very indifferently, with a long rank graſs, which grows in the woods. In the front of theſe huts, there is a piazza, of about ſix feet wide, in which they generally ſit, according to the Aſiatick cuſtom, on mats, or carpets, in the morn-

Braminical religion, is unobſerved by the *Cingaleſe*, who condemn the practice as abhorrent to humanity, and who ſay they were inſtructed to do ſo by their God *Buddha*, who deſcended from Heaven to reform and to purify the doctrines of the *Vedas*.

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ings and evenings. Their furniture conſiſts of a few earthen pots, hung up in the middle of their houſes, four or five ſtools, ſome braſs baſons to hold their victuals, ſome mats and coarſe blanket rugs, that ſerve them for bedding, ſome cooking utenſils and implements of huſbandry. The houſes of the prieſts, miniſters of ſtate, generals, and other great men, are built of ſtone, and though ſeldom more than one ſtory high are always commodious, and the principal apartments ſometimes ſplendid. Their towns contain little more than forty or fifty houſes. The city of Candy and the King's palace are very elegantly deſcribed in Mr. BOYD's account of his Embaſſy.

In their perſons and houſes, the *Cingaleſe* are exceedingly clean, and in dreſſing their victuals ſcrupulouſly nice. Their principal food is rice, with which they mix *curries*, made of fiſh, fowl, or the fleſh of mutton and goat; being, like all other Hindûs, inſtructed by their religion, rather to endure famine and ſuffer death, than eat the fleſh of the cow. The only ſpirituous liquor known

known among them is *arrack:* but their religion enjoins them to abſtain from all ſtrong liquors whatever, and their deſires ſeldom tempt them to tranſgreſs this ordinance.

The women are excellent houſewives;—thrifty without meanneſs, and hoſpitable without profuſion. To be noted for œconomy and hoſpitality is their higheſt ambition; and it is accounted the duty of mothers, to inſtil theſe virtues into their children. Hence the *Cingaleſe* unite the glowing liberality of a ſimple people, with that prudence and foreſight which are the effects of cultivation and refinement. Yet many of their cuſtoms are barbarous and groſs. We almoſt ceaſe to admire thoſe generous feelings which have forbidden them to keep women in ſlaviſh privacy and bondage, which have prompted them to deſpiſe the practice, and enabled them to withſtand the example of neighbouring nations, and which have therefore allowed the ſex to move in their natural ſphere,—when we are informed, that with them, the virtue of female chaſtity is not held to be a principle

ciple of honour. Mr. KNOX tells us, that it is a common practice among them, "to permit their wives and daughters to lie with other men; and that they do not conceive there is the ſmalleſt impropriety in ſo doing, provided they be of the ſame caſt with themſelves,"—and further, "that men do not conſider it a matter of any conſequence, whether their wives, at the firſt marriage, be maids or not."—Such practices and ſentiments are ſo diametrically oppoſite to the uniform and immemorial obſervances of all other Aſiatick nations, and to the ſtanding maxim of the Hindû law, which enjoins, *that the indubitable virginity of the bride ſhall be the indiſpenſable and invariable preliminary condition of all contracts of marriage*, as well as ſo poſitively ſubverſive of that moral order and decency, which are eſſential to the well-being of civilized ſociety, that I am inclined to think Mr. KNOX has ſomewhat diſcoloured this part of his picture, with the fancies of an unphiloſophick mind, diſguſted at a ſyſtem of manners equally adverſe to that to which it was habituated, and to the early notions it had imbibed. I

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ſhall, however, ſuſpend my obſervations on theſe extraordinary cuſtoms, which even ſurpaſs in ſenſuality thoſe of the luxurious ſavages of *Otaheite*, until our further acquaintance with the *Cingaleſe*, ſhall have enabled me to rectify, or to prove the account of Mr. KNOX. In the mean while it muſt be admitted, from the facts that have been already ſtated, as well as from the circumſtance of there being no publick concubines allowed by law, and forming a diſtinct claſs in the community, as in other Hindû countries, that female frailty is here unavoidably expoſed to innumerable dangers; and, that, therefore, if it be not armed with that high ſenſe of honour which is its natural guardian, the manners of the women, notwithſtanding their ſeeming modeſty, muſt neceſſarily be extremely lax. Mr. KNOX, gives a very minute deſcription of their licentious habits, which would be too groſs, if it were not too tedious, to cite.

The *Cingaleſe* do not marry until the age of puberty; yet according to the Eaſtern cuſtom, the matrimonial union is neither propoſed nor ratified by the parties themſelves, but by their

their parents; who often conclude the agreement, and even appoint the nuptial day, without the previous conſent of the youthful couple. Hence their firſt marriages are rather ties of mutual convenience, than bonds of affection and love; but as theſe may be diſſolved at pleaſure on the ſame principles, they are ſelf-deſtructive in their nature, and moſt pernicious in their conſequences. Second marriages, therefore, are ſoon contracted by reciprocal choice, which, notwithſtanding what has been been ſaid of the women, are often attended with the permanent felicity, that the ſacred inſtitution, when founded on natural principles, is ſo well calculated to produce.

The religious ſyſtem of the *Cingaleſe*, is nearly the ſame in its great fundamental principles as thoſe of *China* and *Japan*, of *Tibet* and *Boutan*, of *Siam*, and of the different ſtates of the *Pegue*, or *Burmahn* empire *.

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* Of this country we have at preſent a very limited knowledge.—No account of it has yet been publiſhed, except

The general principle of the theology of theſe nations is, a firm belief in the ſupreme God, and of his Being and ſpecial Providence. Their great lawgivers and philoſophers have demonſtrated the truth of this principle, " from the perfection of the celeſtial bo- " dies, and the wonderful order of nature,

except a ſhort one in HAMILTON's Voyages, which deſerves to be mentioned, much leſs to be peruſed; although both French and Engliſh factories have, at different periods, been eſtabliſhed at *Rangoon*, the ſea-port of the *Burmahn* dominions, and although Britiſh veſſels have traded there, for upwards of a century and a half. The jealous policy of this government, which in many reſpects reſembles that of China, would not permit our merchants and mariners to have any intercourſe with the interior of the country,—till the penetrating ſagacity of Lord TEIGNMOUTH ſaw the utility of endeavouring to remove thoſe ſcruples, and the commercial advantages that would reſult to Britiſh India, from ſending a ſpecial embaſſy to the *Burmahn* Emperor. Accordingly, in the year 1795, he deputed Captain MICHAEL SYMES to the Court of *Amarahpurah*. The reſult of that miſſion is ſaid to promiſe every advantage that could be expected from it, and to reflect much credit on the talents of the gentleman to whoſe conduct it was intruſted.

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" in the whole fabrick of the viſible world." In this univerſal TRUTH they agree with the *Brahmens*, on whoſe doctrines the religion of the *Cingaleſe* is undoubtedly founded, and from whoſe religious opinions and rites the different ſyſtems of ſuperſtition which obtain in the abovementioned countries, in all probability, were originally derived.—" The *Buddha* of the *Hindûs*," ſays Sir WILLIAM JONES, " was unqueſtionably the *Foe* of *China* *, nor can we doubt that he was the *Wod* or *Oden* of *Scandinavia*." According to the *Puranas*, *Buddha* was the anceſtor of that military tribe, whom the Hindûs denominate the *Children of the Moon*, or the genius of the *planet Mercury*. He is ſaid to have been the offſpring of the nymph *Rohini*, by *Soma*, or the Moon; and to have married *Ila*, whoſe father was preſerved in a miraculous ark from an univerſal deluge. This *Buddha* is celebrated in the poems of *Jayadèva*, as the great reformer of the *Vedas*; and is ſuppoſed to have lived about two

* Vide Aſiatick Reſearches, Vol. II. p. 376, where the Hindû account of the flood is fully explained.

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thouſand ſeven hundred years ago. His religion was imported into China, ſo late as the firſt century of the Chriſtian æra. But at what time, or by what means it was received among the natives of Ceylon, our moſt diligent inquiries have hitherto been unable to aſcertain. An endeavour to diſcover the channel through which the doctrines of *Buddha* were conveyed to Ceylon, might amuſe a philoſophick mind; but as ſuch an inveſtigation would neceſſarily occupy a conſiderable ſpace, and as it could be productive of no eſſential benefit to the generality of readers, it were both oſtentatious and uſeleſs to introduce it here.

The *Cingaleſe* believe *Buddha* to be endowed with the attributes of an all-wiſe and beneficent Deity, and to have deſcended from heaven to correct their wickedneſs and errors; and to purify and prepare their ſouls for a future ſtate of eternal bliſs. They, therefore, adore him as the great Author of their religion, and Saviour of their race; from whoſe favour they can alone hope to avert the vengeance of the Evil Deities who inhabit the infernal regions, or expect mercy

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and ſalvation from the Supreme Creator and Governor of the Univerſe.—They believe in the tranſmigration of the ſoul, which they extend even to the inanimate creation, and they conceive that the Divine Spirit pervades the vaſt body of nature, and gives life to all ſentient beings.

This exalted conception of an Eternal Mind, was the vital principle of the *Pythagorean* and *Platonic* philoſophy, which is ſo well deſcribed in the ſublime language of VIRGIL.

Principio cœlum, ac terras, campoſque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, *Titaniaque* aſtra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamque infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno ſe corpore miſcet *.

The *Cingaleſe* mode of worſhip is more ſimple than that of the followers of *Brâhma*, although they reſemble each other in all their material parts. Polytheiſm is the ground-work of both; but the *Cingaleſe* comparatively pay devotion only to a few gods, though theſe

* *Vide Æneid*, L. 6. l. 724.

are to be found under different names in the Hindû mythology. The *Cingaleſe* worſhip images only as the ſymbols of their particular deities;—like all other Hindû tribes, they have no idol or repreſentation of the Supreme God. To HIM they offer up their prayers and thankſgivings before the image of *Buddha*, in their pagodas or temples of publick worſhip, where theſe religious ceremonies are performed on particular occaſions by the *Tirinanxes*, or the firſt claſs of the eccleſiaſtical order, but for the moſt part by *Gounis*, or the loweſt order of prieſts. Before they begin their devotions, they perform their ablutions in the *tank*, or pond, that belongs to each pagoda, and which is either ſituated in the front, or in the centre of the building. Theſe ponds are ſuppoſed to be filled with ſacred water, and are therefore appropriated to the ſervices of religion.

As the Brahmens worſhip the Ganges, ſo the *Cingaleſe* alſo worſhip the river *Mavelagonga*, already deſcribed, as an hallowed ſtream that can waſh out the blackeſt crimes.

For

For the ſun, but more particularly the moon, on account of the fable of the birth of *Buddha*, they profeſs the moſt devout reverence; and to the moon they offer up ſacrifices, at their two annual feſtivals, which in point of time, as well as in many of the ceremonies, pretty nearly accord with the great Hindû feſtivals in June and November. But beſides theſe two ſolemn feſtivals, the *Cingaleſe* have another ſtill more magnificent than either, which is the anniverſary of the aſcent of *Buddha* to heaven. This laſt is held in March.

The *Cingaleſe* are repreſented by Mr. KNOX as not being zealous in the practice of their religious duties, and as having, in truth, no reverence for any of their gods but *Buddha:*—and he mentions one or two inſtances, in which he ſaw them even revile their inferior deities, and laugh at the ſuperſtitions of their own worſhip. It is, however, certain, that if they be leſs fervent, they are not leſs regular than the true *Hindûs;* and that if they ridicule their gods, their affected, but prophane pleaſantry, is infinitely more ſuperſtitious, than the grave and ſincere

bigotry of the Brahmens. Among all ſavage people, it is a common practice to revile their gods, and to deface their idols, when their moſt ardent adoration has not availed to quiet thoſe *fears* which prompted them to perform it *, or to ſatisfy thoſe *hopes* which "ſpring eternal in the human mind." The impious abſurdities of the *Cingaleſe*, therefore, are nothing more than a remnant of that barbariſm which the doctrines of *Buddha* were deſtined to ſubdue.

Some time previous to Mr. KNOX's impriſonment by the King of Candy, a man of conſiderable talents and intrepid courage had appeared among the *Cingaleſe*, called himſelf the Prophet of a new God, and pretended to be gifted with divine power. He is ſaid to have gained many proſelytes; but the King at length dreading his civil ambition, rather

* —O adoration!
Art thou nought elſe but place, degree, and form,
Creating awe and fear in other men?
Wherein thou art leſs happy, being feared,
Than they in fearing.—
What drinkeſt thou oft, inſtead of homage ſweet,
But poiſon'd flattery?—
SHAKESPEARE'S HENRY V.

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than his ſpiritual influence, ordered him to be executed. The converts to his opinions, were doubtleſs, from the *Pariahs*, or outcaſts; for there is no ground to ſuppoſe, that the religious ſyſtem of an upſtart prophet, could have made any laſting impreſſion on the votaries of *Buddha*.

The civil government of the *Cingaleſe* is purely monarchical and deſpotick. But though their Kings be veſted with abſolute authority over the lives and properties of the people; their paſſions being diſciplined by the forcible precepts and the wiſe reſtraints of a mild but awful religion, they have very ſeldom been guilty of that tyranny to which ſuch extenſive ſway naturally conducts. In the time of Mr. KNOX, the throne of Candy was filled by an uſurper, who was a bloody and relentleſs tyrant; but who, like all other uſurpers, was probably obliged to ſupport his power, by a continuance of that violence, oppreſſion, and iniquity, through which he had acquired it; and who, had he been a lawful ſovereign, might have reigned, like the other Kings of Ceylon,

Ceylon, in the hearts of his ſubjects, and according to the dictates of his faith.

The Kings of Candy are cloathed in all the ſtate and ſplendour of other Aſiatick princes:—but in their dreſs there is the peculiar diſtinction of a crown ſet with diamonds and pearls, and adorned with a plume of feathers, which is at once their ornament and boaſt, and which they flatter themſelves no other monarch is *intitled to wear!*

The Sovereigns of Candy are enjoined by their religion, to make no alteration in the ancient laws of *Buddha*, but to govern their people in ſtrict conformity to them; and though they may, at times, tranſgreſs their rules, they never wantonly and openly violate their principles.

The adminiſtration of juſtice is veſted in the *Adigars*, or governors of provinces, who in civil authority are next to the King; but who, of courſe, hold their ſituations by no other tenure than his will; and who, if guilty of any acts of delinquency or oppreſſion in their government, are amenable to the laws, and are tried, like all other capital offenders, before the

the King in perſon, who paſſes ſentence of death upon them, and orders it to be put into immediate execution in his own preſence.

Next to the King in point of military rank, and to the *Adigars* in civil power, are the *Diſſauvas*, or generals, who govern diſtricts; for every province and diſtrict in the country has its governor. The ſubordinate military officers, under the *Diſſauvas*, are the *Roteraus* and *Vindanées*, who command detachments of the King's army in different parts of the iſland, and who in fact govern the provinces and diſtricts, as the *Adigars* and *Diſſauvas* reſide conſtantly at court; but whoſe particular duties are to ſee the revenues regularly levied, and to maintain due order throughout the kingdom. All theſe officers are appointed by the King. But the appointment of all the officers under them in the ſeveral departments, is left to their own choice.

In every village there is an inferior court of juſtice, for the purpoſe of taking cognizance of all complaints and differences, and with the power of puniſhing ſlight offences. From theſe courts there is an appeal to the governors

governors of diſtricts, and from them again to the *Adigars*, as chief juſtices of the kingdom.

The *Cingaleſe* are divided, according to the inſtitutes of their law, into four diſtinct claſſes, which in all reſpects nearly correſpond with thoſe of the Hindûs. The firſt is the *Tirinanxes*, or ſacerdotal claſs; the ſecond is the *Hindrews*, or military claſs, to which the King and all the great officers of ſtate belong; the third is the *inferior Hindrews*, or merchants and artizans; the fourth is the *Poddahs*, or ſervile claſs, to which huſbandmen * and labourers belong. Theſe four tribes never intermarry; but are ſubdivided into as great a variety of ſects, as there are trades and profeſſions. To the *Tirinanxes*, they all pay an equal reverence.

The *Tirinanxes* are in truth the *Brahmens* of the *Cingaleſe;* they are indued with the

* Huſbandmen, in the Brahminical diviſion of ſociety, belong to the *Bhyſe*, or third claſs of Hindûs. "The natural duty of the *Bhyſe* is to cultivate the land, to tend "the cattle, to buy and ſell."—*See the Bhagvatgeetah.*—It is ſingular, that a people, like the *Cingaleſe*, with few manufactures, and little trade, ſhould rate artizans above the cultivators of the land.

ſame

ſame ſanctity, they poſſeſs the ſame immunities, they receive the ſame homage, they are ſupported by the ſame inflexible conſtancy, and are warmed with the ſame intrepid virtue, for which that devout and extraordinary race of men are peculiarly diſtinguiſhed.

This *artificial* inequality in ſociety, which the geometrical diviſion of the people into ſeparate tribes, has impoſed, is carried by the civil polity of the *Cingaleſe*, to as great an extent, as the inſtitutes of the Hindû law ordain it. Every claſs has its ſeparate privileges and its appropriate laws. Unequal laws are indeed the moſt galling chains in which deſpotiſm can bind a people, and muſt to Engliſhmen, above all other men, appear an intolerable grievance; yet many millions in the eaſtern world, from not feeling the influence of thoſe high paſſions, which purify, and ennoble, and ſublimate the groſſneſs of our mortal nature, live, at leaſt, contented under them, and according to their own meaſure of happineſs.

The *Cingaleſe* have a digeſt, or code of written laws, which they ſay was compoſed by

by *Buddha*, and which the King keeps in his own poſſeſſion, and will only permit his *Adigars*, or chief juſtices, to peruſe. The common courts of judicature have not the advantage of knowing it, and are therefore intirely guided in their proceedings by preſcriptive uſages. Of theſe I can only preſent the reader with a few leading principles, as it would fill a volume to give a particular detail.

Theſe ancient cuſtoms, or rules for civil conduct, though in many eſſential points extremely defective, protect every individual in his perſon and property. Yet there are peculiar privileges and advantages attached to one tribe above another. The King is the oſtenſible proprietor and lord paramount of all the land in his dominions. All property in land is conſequently held by a grant from the King. The landed tenures of the *Cingaleſe*, as well as thoſe of all other *Hindû* nations, are completely feudal. In their law of inheritance, their right of primogeniture is recognized, but not preſcribed;—ſo that the father of a numerous family, although he has himſelf only a life intereſt

intereſt in his own eſtate, may divide it among his children; but as the law does not admit of any alienation of property, it remains for ever in the family. When the eſtate is left ſolely to the eldeſt ſon, he is obliged to ſupport his mother, and his brothers and ſiſters, until they are able to provide for themſelves.

Of the *Cingaleſe* law of marriage, ſo different from that of other Aſiatick nations, I have already given an account; to which, however, it ſhould be added, that when a woman is divorced, no man is permitted to marry her, until her former huſband ſhall have married again.

With regard to civil juſtice, all cauſes are regularly tried, upon this principle,—that as all men ſhould live in peace and amity with each other, no individual, however high his caſt, or place in ſociety, can be permitted to treſpaſs on the rights of another, even of the loweſt caſt; but, that as the diviſion of the people into tribes is *eſſential* to their well-being, it is *neceſſary* that offences ſhould be eſtimated,—not by their *inherent culpability*, or their *pernicious effects*, but by the

rank

rank and *condition* of the offender. It is perfectly obvious, that a judicial proceſs, conducted on a principle ſo erroneous, muſt often defeat its own purpoſe; notwithſtanding all the care that may be taken in examining evidence, and in ſubſtantiating facts. And Juſtice, therefore, inſtead of preſerving due order in the community, by protecting aggrieved innocence, and puniſhing convicted guilt, muſt too frequently be compelled to allow the groſſeſt fraud to eſcape with the ſlighteſt penalty, and injured virtue to ſue in vain for redreſs. But the placable diſpoſitions of a mild and ſenſible people, correct the errors of their juriſprudence. Controverſies and diſſentions are very rare among them; and when they do take place, they ſeldom apply to the courts of juſtice for a formal trial, but ſolicit permiſſion to determine the merits of their differences by *ſwearing in oil.* The *Purrekeh,* or trial by *ordeal,* has been known and practiſed, in all parts of India, from the remoteſt antiquity; and its infallibility in proving guilt or innocence, is ſtill implicitly believed. Of this inſtitute there

are

are various modes. The one moſt in uſe by the *Cingaleſe*, is thus deſcribed by Mr. KNOX, who was an eye-witneſs to the proceſs.—"Matters of great importance they "are permitted to decide by *ſwearing in hot* "*oil.* When they are to ſwear, each party "has a licence from the governor of the "diſtrict, written in his own hand. Then "they go and waſh their heads and bodies, "which is a religious ceremony. And that "night they are both confined priſoners in "a houſe with a guard upon them, and a "cloth tied over each of their right-hands, "and ſealed, leſt they might uſe any charm "to harden their fingers."

"The next morning they are brought "out; they then put on clean cloths, and "purify themſelves, reckoning they come "into the preſence of God. Then they "tie to their wriſts the *leaf* wherein the "governor's licence is, and repair under "ſome * *Bogahah, God-tree*, and all the offi-"cers of the county aſſemble with a vaſt "number of people beſides. Cocoa-nuts "are brought, and oil is there extracted

* A Banyan-tree.

"from

" from them in the ſight of the people, that " all may ſee there is no deceit. Alſo they " have a pan of *cow-dung* and water boiling " cloſe by: the oil and cow-dung being " both boiling and thoroughly hot, they " take a young leaf of a cocoa-nut-tree, and " dip that into the oil that all may ſee it is " hot. For it ſinges and frizzles up, and " roars as if you poured water into hot " boiling oil. And ſo they do likewiſe to " the cow-dung. When all are ſatisfied " the oil is hot, the two men come and " ſtand on each ſide of this boiling oil; and " ſay, *The God of heaven and earth is wit-* " *neſs, that I did not do this that I am ac-* " *cuſed of;* or, *The four ſorts of gods be* " *witneſs, that this land in controverſy is* " *mine.* And the other ſwears quite con- " trary. But firſt the *accuſer* always " ſwears. The *accuſed* alſo relates his own " innocence, or his own right and title. " The cloths, that their hands were bound " up in, are taken off. And immediately " upon uſing the former words, he dips his " fingers into the hot oil, flinging it out " three times. And then goes to the boil-

" ing

" ing cow-dung, and does the ſame. And " ſo does the other. Then they tie up their " hands again with the cloth, and keep " both of them priſoners till the next day, " when their hands are looked upon, and " their fingers ends rubbed with a cloth, to " ſee if the ſkin come off. And from whoſe " fingers the ſkin comes, he is forſworn. " The penalty of which is a great forfeiture " to the King, and great ſatisfaction to the " adverſary *."

With reſpect to the adminiſtration of criminal juſtice, it is veſted ſolely in the King; who is aſſiſted by the *Adigars*, in defining the law, and in conducting trials. And although even the criminal law be founded on the abſurd and abominable principle, of rating and puniſhing crimes according to the rank of the criminal, not by the enormity of his guilt; yet as the Candian monarchs have for the moſt part been ſenſible and benevolent men, their intereſts and feelings unite to render their *legal* deciſions always lenient and mild to the indi-

* This account accords with the deſcription given, in the *Mitacſherâ*, or comment on the *Dhermâ Sâſtra*, of the Hindû trial by ordeal.

gent,

gent, and often impartial to the rich; never inflicting the cruelties, authorized by the practice of tyrants, on culprits of the lower ranks, and seldom permitting delinquents, however high their cast, to escape *unreproved.* But the *Tirinanxes,* like the *Brahmens,* are exempt from capital punishments. Upon the whole, while it must be admitted, that the general principle of these laws is unjust, it can at the same time be confidently affirmed, that they are administered with moderation, and with strict attention to the interests of a people, who believing them to have been enacted by divine authority, look up to them with mysterious reverence.

The vernacular language of the *Gingalese,* has no apparent affinity to any of the dialects that are spoken on the continent of India; but between their several idioms there is not any essential difference. That courtly phraseology, that strained hyperbole, and that constant recurrence of extravagant and mixed metaphors, which are in truth the characteristick features of all the languages of Asia, also distinguish and deform the *Chingulay.* This language, however, which in all

probability is derived from the *Sanſcrêet*, and which we may now hope to trace to that fruitful ſource, has a few peculiarities; but upon the whole it bears a ſtrong reſemblance to the *Malay* * language, which, on account of its melody, has been juſtly and elegantly termed the "*Italian of the Eaſt.*" The colloquial dialect of the *Chingulay*, is at once copious, energetick, and ſmooth; and its written or poetical ſtyle very harmonious and elegant.

The *Cingaleſe* are enthuſiaſtick lovers of poetry and muſick; and there are ſeveral allegorical ballads and ſongs in the *Chingulay* language, which breathe the moſt exalted ſentiments, and which are no leſs popular from the genius of thoſe who compoſed them, than they are beneficial by inſpiring that pious love for the Supreme Creator, and that ardent charity towards men, which to uſe the language of the illuſtrious BARROW,

* Mr. MARSDEN, in a very ingenious and learned treatiſe on the traces of the Hindû language and literature, extant among the *Malays*, has very ſatisfactorily proved, "that the *Malayan* language is indebted to the "*Sanſcrêet* for a conſiderable number of its terms."—Vide *Aſiatick Reſearches*, vol. 4. p. 227.

" doth rid us from all thoſe gloomy, keen,
" turbulent, imaginations and paſſions,
" which cloud our mind, which fret our
" heart, which diſcompoſe the frame of our
" ſoul, from burning anger, from ſtorming
" contention, from gnawing envy, from
" rankling ſpite, from racking ſuſpicion,
" from diſtracting ambition and avarice;
" and conſequently doth ſettle our mind in
" an even temper, in a ſedate humour, in
" an harmonious order, in that pleaſant ſtate
" of tranquillity, which naturally doth re-
" ſult from the voidance of irregular paſ-
" ſions."—

Beſides theſe poems, there are others on a variety of ſubjects, that have been written many ages ago, in a dialect of the *Sanſcrêet*, which the *Cingaleſe* call the language of *Buddha*, but which very few, even of their moſt learned *Tirinanxes*, or prieſts, fully underſtand. In this language all their books on religion, law, and phyſick, are compoſed; but of theſe books I have not yet been able to obtain any accurate account. No European, I believe, has ever ſeen them; but the ſame addreſs and perſua-

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ſion that overcame the ſcrupulous and rigid ſecrecy of the *Brahmens*, will now, I truſt, be ſucceſsfully employed, at the court of Candy, in procuring copies of theſe ancient manuſcripts.

The *Cingaleſe*, like all other *Hindû* nations, ſeem long ſince to have paſſed the meridian of their literature and ſcience. The preſent generation are not only ignorant of that ſkill in aſtronomical calculations, for which their anceſtors were celebrated, but alſo deſtitute of that knowledge in the elegant arts, which although they have ſtill taſte enough to admire, they want the genius to imitate.

In all the mechanick arts they are greatly inferior to their continental neighbours. They have few manufactures. They make a ſufficient quantity of calico to ſupply the inhabitants of the iſland, but it is of a very indifferent quality. They make match-lock guns, and all kinds of iron and ſteel tools for the uſe of agriculture and houſe-building;—alſo all ſorts of earthen-ware, goldſmith's work, painter's work, carved work, &c. &c. But in making iron from the different *calci-*

form ores, with which their mountains abound, they are particularly expert. With regard to the current money of Candy, it is in ſilver, and of three kinds. The firſt is what the *Cingaleſe* call the *Tangom Maſſa*, which was originally coined by the Portugueze, and is valued at about nine-pence ſterling; the ſecond is a ſmall piece of ſilver of the ſhape of a fiſh-hook, which all deſcriptions of people are permitted to coin; and the third is a piece of ſilver of a larger ſize, called a *Ponnam*, which, as it is the King's money, coining it is a capital crime. As the *Cingaleſe* have not, for upwards of a century, had any foreign trade whatever, theſe ſmall coins ſufficiently anſwer all the purpoſes of their domeſtick traffick.

To conclude,—the *Cingaleſe* have in all ages chiefly ſubſiſted by the peaceful labours of agriculture; and they undoubtedly poſſeſs much of that generous ſpirit, and many of thoſe maſculine virtues, which grow out of that condition of life. They are hoſpitable, frugal, ſober, and brave; without any mixture of affectation, parſimony, coldneſs, or temerity. They are at once mild and

firm

firm in their general nature, and good-humoured and liberal in their particular diſpoſitions. When the Portugueze landed on their iſland, they enjoyed the benefits of a pretty extenſive commerce with the nations of the continent, and congratulated themſelves on being protected by the ſea, from the dreadful ravages and devaſtations, with which Mahommedan fanaticiſm and tyranny were at that time ſcourging thoſe devoted countries. But the appearance of *Lawrence D'Almeyda*'s fleet and army afforded them a melancholy inſtance of the inſtability of human enjoyments. That coaſt on which no hoſtile fleet had ever anchored, thoſe fields on which no hoſtile army had ever trod, thoſe altars which no unhallowed hand had ever yet prophaned, were now to be inſulted, laid waſte, and deſtroyed. This ſtorm blew for a while over the iſland with pitileſs fury, and tore up every thing ſacred by the roots. Yet the calm that ſucceeded it was ultimately productive of more extenſive evils. For in that calm came the Dutch, under the ſpecious pretext of generoſity and friendſhip, to reſcue

them from their oppreſſors; but who in a few years, ſupplanted the Portugueze in their oppreſſions, as well as in their territory, and who far ſurpaſſed them in cruelty and fraud.

Yet—

Quid memorem infandas cædes? Quid facta tyranni
Effera? Di capiti ipſius generique reſervent.

I have thus endeavoured to draw a few general outlines of the character, manners, and inſtitutions of the *Cingaleſe;* and although from the hurry in which they were executed, the performance is by no means ſatisfactory to my own taſte,—yet, as I am confident it is a juſt repreſentation of facts, as well as a faithful delineation of men, I am not without hopes of its being ſerviceable to the publick.

It remains juſt to notice the *Malabars* and *Mahommedans,* who form part of the inhabitants of Ceylon, and to ſay a few words on the general hiſtory of the iſland.

The *Malabars,* or as they are called in Ceylon, *Wannees,* inhabit the diſtrict of *Coylot,* in the northern part of the iſland. They

They are a ſect of Hindûs who emigrated many centuries ago from the coaſts of the Indian peninſula; and who ſtill ſpeak a dialect of the *Malabar* language. They live under the government of a deſpotick *Rajah*, or prince, who is perfectly independent of the King of Candy; but from whom the Dutch, about the cloſe of laſt century, demanded an annual tribute, which they ever afterwards continued to exact.

The *Choliars*, or *Muſſulmen*, are a ſect of Mahommedans of the line of *Haſhêm*. They are the deſcendants of that race of people, who inhabited the ſea-coaſts of the iſland, at the time the Arabian voyagers firſt carried the doctrines of Mahommed acroſs the Indian Ocean, and whom their pious induſtry very ſoon converted. They ſtill inhabit the ſea-coaſts, and are the people, whom the Dutch chiefly employed in the cultivation of the cinnamon.

The early hiſtory of Ceylon, like that of all other countries in India, is involved in darkneſs; and the glimmerings which Hindû mythology occaſionally reflect upon it, inſtead of guiding our conjectures, ſerve only

only to dim our ſight. But all fables and traditions agree, that Ceylon has in all ages been inhabited, chiefly by a race of Hindûs, who lived under the government of a King. With this part of its hiſtory, the Greek and Roman writers, who have been already mentioned, alſo accord. As to the tradition current among the *Cingaleſe*, which *Baldæus* ſeems implicitly to believe, that a Chineſe veſſel, having been ſhipwrecked on the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, the captain and crew were not only received with the greateſt hoſpitality, but were treated with the moſt extraordinary reſpect and confidence by the inhabitants, who, in a ſhort time, *became ſo fond of the captain*, that they elected him as their King,—I cannot take upon me to contradict, but I am ſure it were a waſte of time to offer any obſervation upon it. And it ill became the good ſenſe and gravity of *Baldæus*, to give this abſurd tale to the world, as matter of hiſtory.

In the firſt century of the Chriſtian æra, the Romans carried on an extenſive trade with the weſtern and ſouthern parts of India.

dia. Every year a fleet of one hundred and twenty veſſels ſailed from *Myhos-hormos*, a port of Egypt, on the Red Sea, to the coaſt of *Malabar* and *Ceylon*. But I cannot agree with an illuſtrious and philoſophick hiſtorian*, that the Roman fleets "traverſed the ocean in about forty days;" becauſe, it appears to me, from the reaſons I have already given for diſcrediting PLINY's account of the *Freed Slave*, that thoſe ſlender barks were utterly incapable of traverſing an ocean, which, during the months in which he ſays they ſailed to India, is perpetually agitated by violent tempeſts, to ſay nothing of the improbability of veſſels being navigated without a compaſs, in a wide extended ocean, where, at the time they are ſuppoſed to have ſailed, not even a ſtar is to be ſeen for many nights together. It is ſurely a much more reaſonable conjecture, that thoſe fleets performed their voyage in the north-eaſt monſoon, when the ſea is calm, and the ſky clear, and ſailed along the coaſt of *Arabia Felix* to

* Mr. GIBBON.—See the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. I. p. 88.

Cape

Cape Raſalgat, whence paſſing the celebrated iſland of *Ormus*, they ſtood acroſs the mouth of the Perſian Gulph, to *Cape Monze*, from which they ſteered, with the wind on their ſtern, to the north-weſt, along the coaſt of *Tatta*, and paſſing the mouths of the *Indus*, thence acroſs the Gulph of *Cutch*, from the *Chegoo Muddi* iſlands, to Point *Jigat*, and along the coaſt of *Guzerat*, to the iſland of *Diu*,—thence again acroſs the Gulph of *Cambay* to *Surat*, *Damaun*, and *Bombay*, and along the coaſt of *Malabar* to *Ceylon*. This circuitous, but ſafe paſſage, it would take them nearly four months to perform from *Myhos-hormos* to *Ceylon*. But, in returning, they muſt have taken a longer time; as they probably remained in ſome of the ports in the Gulph of *Manaar*, during the whole of the ſouth-weſt monſoon, and ſailed up the coaſt of Malabar in the north-eaſt monſoon, by the help of the land and ſea breezes. But whether this conjecture is better ſupported by circumſtances, than Mr. GIBBON'S ſtatement, I ſhall leave my geographical readers to decide;—it is ſufficient here, to have eſtabliſhed the fact, of Roman

fleets

fleets having ſailed to Ceylon, for a conſiderable period, and the iſland having thereby "gradually become the principal mart of the eaſt."—After the fall of the weſtern empire, the Romans intirely relinquiſhed their commerce with Ceylon. Some veſſels, however, ſtill continued to arrive yearly, from Egypt; and the *Arabs*, in the ninth century of our æra, appeared on the coaſts of the iſland. They carried on a briſk trade with the *Cingaleſe*, for ſeveral hundred years, without a competitor. But in A. D. 1340, the Venetians concluded a treaty of commerce with the Soldans of Egypt, by a bull from the Pope, and they ſoon opened a commercial intercourſe with Ceylon, which they conducted with the wiſdom and vigour that diſtinguiſhed their character; but which before the end of two centuries, the genius and diſcoveries of *Vaſco de Gama* were deſtined to overthrow.

In A. D. 1505, the celebrated *Lawrence D'Almeyda* landed in Ceylon, with a conſiderable body of troops, and taking advantage of the civil commotions, which at that period ſhook the iſland to its centre, owing

to

to the enormities of a bloody tyrant who had uſurped the throne of Candy, he joined the inſurgents; and although he was unable to depoſe the uſurper, he ſucceeded, after many ſevere battles, in eſtabliſhing himſelf, and completely reduced under his ſubjection thoſe diſtricts which produce the beſt cinnamon.

The wars which followed *D'Almeyda*'s conqueſt, as well as the general policy of the Portugueze government in Ceylon, have already been noticed. Theſe enterprizing invaders ſoon engroſſed the whole of the cinnamon trade, expelled the Arabs from the iſland, and fortified their principal ſettlements. Though their fortifications were not conſtructed in the moſt ſkilful manner, they were ſufficiently ſtrong to baffle the tacticks of the *Cingaleſe*. And the Portugueze, lulled by the idea of ſecurity, neglected to provide againſt the approach of a more formidable enemy. In the year 1602, nearly a century after their eſtabliſhment in the iſland, the Dutch General *Joris Spilbergen*, arrived at the King of Candy's court, on a ſpecial miſſion from the States General

of

of the United Provinces. This ambaſſador was ſo favourably received by the King, that the year following *Sebal De Weert* and *Vibraads van Warwick*, with a fleet of ſeven ſhips, arrived at *Batticola*, on the eaſt coaſt of the iſland. But finding they had not a force adequate to the execution of their projects, they ſailed to the Dutch ſettlement of *Acheen*, in the iſland of *Sumatra*, where they ſoon collected a ſufficient number of troops, and returned to Ceylon in April 1603. *De Weert* was immediately invited to Candy, by the King, in order to conſummate the treaty which they had previouſly negotiated. But the reception he met with diſappointed his expectations, and ultimately fruſtrated the expedition in which he had embarked. The King publickly charged him with breach of faith, in having releaſed ſome Portugueze priſoners, whom he had intruſted to his care. *De Weert* admitted the charge, and made the moſt ample apologies. But *Rajah Lâarma Soree*, who was a ſagacious ſtateſman, as well as a valiant ſoldier, ſtill remained diſſatisfied and ſuſpicious. And the Portugueze, by frequent meſſages, did not

not fail to feed his ſuſpicions with all the artful inſinuations which fear and malice could ſuggeſt. At length the apprehenſion of ſome hoſtile deſign on the part of the Dutchman, emboldened the enmity of the King, and he took an opportunity of openly inſulting him, which, when *De Weert* warmly reſented, he inſtantly cauſed his attendants to ſeize him. To this diſgrace he refuſed to ſubmit, and drew his ſword in his defence, on which one of the courtiers gave him a ſtroke with a ſcimitar that laid him dead on the ground. This atrocious action filled the minds of the Dutch with a rancorous reſentment, which afforded them ſome colour of pretext, for their ſubſequent conduct; but which their crafty prudence taught them to ſuppreſs, until their foul and nefarious plans were ripe for execution.

Soon after this event *Lâarma Soree* died, and was ſucceeded on the throne of Candy, by a younger brother; who being a man of little underſtanding, and of a pliable diſpoſition, was a fit inſtrument to forward the views of the Dutch. In the month of March 1612,

Marcellus

Marcellus de Boſchhouwer arrived at Candy, with a letter from the Stadtholder, Prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, to the King, aſſuring him of his friendſhip, and offering him his aſſiſtance againſt the Portugueze. This letter produced the deſired effect; and on May 11th of the ſame year, *Marcellus* concluded a treaty of commerce and alliance, between *Cenuweirat Adaſeyn*, King of Candy, and the States General of the United Provinces, in which his majeſty granted leave to the Dutch to erect a fortreſs at *Cotiarum*, near *Trincomallée*. The Dutch loſt no time in following up the advantages they had gained. They urged the King to declare war againſt the Portugueze; and having ſupplied his army with abundance of military ſtores, and a conſiderable train of artillery, he obtained a ſeries of victories over their common enemy, and compelled him to ſue for peace at the gates of *Columbo*. The Dutch fleet, having nearly at the ſame period, totally defeated that of the Portugueze off *Goa*, the King, as well as the people of Candy, were filled with ſentiments of admiration and reverence for the ſkill and bravery of their

their new friends. But that ſkill and bravery was ſoon to be turned againſt themſelves.

Upon the death of *Adaſeyn*, in 1632, the ſucceſſion to the crown was diſputed by his three ſons, whoſe mutual animoſities and violence embroiled the kingdom in inteſtine diſſenſions. The Portugueze having by this time received ample ſupplies of men, and military ſtores, did not allow an opportunity ſo favourable for the recovery of their loſt poſſeſſions, to eſcape them. They immediately took a decided part in the civil war, which continued to rage with increaſing fury, and marched an army to the foot of the mountains of *Candy Uda*, againſt the reigning prince *Rajah Singah*, whoſe ſtrength and influence had overpowered his brothers, and almoſt reduced them to ſubjection. On the approach of the Portugueze army, *Rajah Singah* formally ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Dutch; who loſt no time in granting a requeſt which ſo fully met their own wiſhes. They ſent a ſtrong detachment of troops under an able commander to Candy; who arrived juſt in time to co-operate in the King's

King's attack of the Portugueze, and to ſhare the glory of the ſignal victory which followed. The Portugueze finding themſelves unable to withſtand the united forces of the *Dutch* and *Cingaleſe*, ſued again for peace, which on account of his domeſtick feuds, the King was very well diſpoſed to grant. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded, contrary to the avowed deſires of the Dutch, and on terms by no means diſadvantageous to the Portugueze. The reſtleſs ſpirit and the artful machinations of the Hollanders, however, rendered it little more than a hollow truce. The King, confiding in the profeſſions, as well as the ſuperior proweſs of the Dutch, and having an inveterate hatred to the Portugueze, eaſily yielded to the counſels of the former, and by an infraction of the treaty of peace, provoked the latter to renew hoſtilities. The Dutch had by this time aſſembled an army, fully adequate to cruſh their rivals; who, aware of the danger that awaited them, ſummed up all their ſpirit and vigour to meet it. But the robuſt and dauntleſs ſoldiers of Holland, were too powerful for the

utmoſt exertions of troops, debauched and enervated by wealth and luxury; and the Portugueze, within a few months, loſt all their poſſeſſions except *Columbo*. To this place the Dutch laid ſiege, and the Portugueze, after an obſtinate reſiſtance of ſeven months, in which they diſplayed much of their ancient heroiſm, and often fought with almoſt incredible fury, being reduced to the laſt extremity, they were conſtrained to ſurrender, on condition of allowing themſelves to be tranſported to Goa, and of reſigning all their claims in Ceylon to the Dutch.

The Dutch had now, in effect, completed their original plan; but decency, as well as prudence, yet required them to preſerve the ſemblance of good faith towards the King, and to perform ſome courteous ceremonies, before they finally threw off the maſk. Hence they prevailed on the unſuſpecting politicians of Candy, to conclude another treaty of amity and commerce, in which they ſtipulated with the King, for a grant of that part of the cinnamon country, which the Portugueze had poſſeſſed. But the Dutch having at length procured all they could expect from

from the friendſhip, became deſirous of trying what they could gain from the hoſtility of the *Cingaleſe;* and unreſtrained by any ſentiments of gratitude for that aſſiſtance and thoſe favours which had eſtabliſhed them in the iſland, they trampled in the duſt all that is held ſacred among nations; and after gradually and inſidiouſly infringing the articles of the treaty, they paſſed the line of demarcation that it preſcribed, and ſeized upon the whole of the cinnamon country, as far as the mountains of *Candy Uda.* This unprovoked and unprincipled aggreſſion awakened the King of Candy from that peaceful ſlumber, in which he vainly imagined he might ſecurely indulge; and it ultimately gave riſe to all thoſe cruel wars and atrocious proceedings which I have endeavoured to depict.

In the year 1674, a French fleet arrived in the bay of *Trincomallée**, on their paſſage to *Pondicherry*, under the command of *Monſieur de la Hay*, with an ambaſſador and his ſuite on board, deputed from

* *Vide* KNOX on Ceylon, p. 183.

Louis XIV. to the King of Candy. The King received this embaſſy with that hoſpitality and politeneſs which, even in the reigns of the moſt injudicious and tyrannical princes, have marked the character of his court. But the ambaſſador appears to have been totally deſtitute of that accommodating diſpoſition, and diplomatick ſkill, for which his countrymen have, in all ages, been deſervedly famed. He not only refuſed to comply with the cuſtoms and ceremonies of the country, but derided them as abſurdities, and was imprudent enough to inſult the King's miniſters in the hall of audience, becauſe the King was not there exactly at the appointed hour. His Majeſty, juſtly incenſed at his prepoſterous inſolence, ordered him and his attendants to be clapped in chains, from which he did not releaſe them for ſix months; when he gave them permiſſion to depart his dominions. Three young gentlemen belonging to the ambaſſador's ſuite, having become attached to the country, were, at their own earneſt ſolicitation, allowed to remain in the city of Candy, and at the time Mr. KNOX left it, they were

were engaged in various occupations. They married, and had children; but their progeny is now extinct.

In 1766, during the laſt, and to the *Cingaleſe*, the moſt fatal war, the Dutch ever waged againſt them, Mr. PYBUS arrived at the court of Candy, on a miſſion from the Britiſh government of Madras. He was inſtructed to aſſure the King of the friendſhip of the Engliſh, now the moſt potent European power in the eaſt, and to offer him ample ſuccours to ſupport the war with the Dutch. Of the glaring injuſtice and impolicy of this embaſſy, at a period when England and Holland were not only in perfect peace, but in ſtrict alliance, it were unneceſſary to make any comment; ſince the ignorance and folly with which it was conducted, defeated its object, and thereby averted the evils that muſt have followed its ſucceſs.

This embaſſy, together with the miſrepreſentations of the Dutch, had given the court of Candy a very unfavourable impreſſion of the juſtice and policy of the Engliſh. And it was with a view to do away the odium which

which had, through these means, been affixed to our general character, as well as to announce to the King of Candy, that we were at war with the implacable enemy and incessant disturber of his country, and to secure his friendly disposition, at least, if not his active aid, in our intended attack of the Dutch territories in Ceylon, that Mr. BOYD was, in February 1782, deputed by his Excellency Lord MACARTNEY, then Governor of Madras, to the court of Candy.

Mr. BOYD accompanied from Madras the expedition under the command of Admiral Sir EDWARD HUGHES, which was destined for the reduction of the Dutch settlements in Ceylon; and after the surrender of *Trincomallée* to the British arms, Mr. BOYD set out from that place, by an unusual and difficult route to Candy. The firmness, perseverance, and ability, with which he surmounted the various obstacles that impeded his journey; and the acuteness, promptitude, and dispatch with which he conducted his negociation, the following JOURNAL very fully and clearly manifests.

And

And although he could not prevail on the King of Candy to enter into a treaty of alliance with the Britiſh government, he nevertheleſs ſucceeded in the principal object of his miſſion, that of removing the ſlur that had been caſt upon the character of the Engliſh, and of convincing the court of Candy, of their humanity, liberality, and good faith. For the friendly conduct of the King of Candy towards Major General STEWART, after the capitulation of *Trincomallée*, in 1795, when contraſted with his behaviour to Sir EDWARD HUGHES, in refuſing to ſupply him with any proviſions whatever, very ſatisfactorily proves, the favourable opinion he had formed of the Engliſh, from the admirable addreſs and conciliating manners of Mr. BOYD.

The Letter that is annexed to the Journal of the Embaſſy, gives an account of Mr. BOYD's impriſonment at the *Iſle of France* and *Bourbon*, together with ſome particulars of theſe iſlands. And the letters in the Appendix are explanatory of one or two facts referred to in the Journal and the Letter

Letter from *Bourbon*, and will, I hope, be found entertaining.

This Preface has grown to a greater ſize than I originally intended. But as it contains ſome intereſting information, and illuſtrates the hiſtory of a very celebrated, but little known country, I truſt the reader will have the patience to peruſe it.

A JOURNAL

A

JOURNAL OF AN EMBASSY

FROM

THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS,

TO

THE KING OF CANDY,

IN CEYLON,

IN THE YEAR 1782.

A JOURNAL, &c.

From *Trincomallée* to *Copputtorey*.

(NINE MILES.)

ON the 5th February 1782, at half an hour paſt ſeven A. M. left *Trincomallée* *. At nine ſtopped at a very beautiful inlet of the ſea, rendezvouſed, and breakfaſted on cheeſe and biſcuit, the cook having marched on with the cold fowl. Before we proceeded, loſt one cooley, who found

* Our whole number 173, 63 of whom were a fine grenadier company of ſepoys, under the command of Enſign CHERECH. We had three palankeens, for myſelf, Mr. CHERECH, and PERMAUL, my debaſh and principal interpreter, and a dooley for Moss, my writer: beſides ſervants and attendants of all denominations, for ſhew and uſe, and cooleys for the baggage and preſents. For the heavier part, tents, &c. Capt. BONNEVAUX, commandant at *Trincomallée*, accommodated us with eight buſlocks: as indeed he did with every thing in his power.

opportunity

opportunity to eſcape into the woods. At twenty minutes paſt ten got into motion again. The road more woody and difficult for the palankeens; and water up to a man's middle in one or two places, particularly *Copputtorey* river, running near a little hamlet of that name. We were obliged to halt before we croſſed, near half an hour, to clear the way among the trees, and to ſend over the bullock-loads by men, leſt they ſhould again throw them, as they had before, in a rivulet we had paſſed. At half paſt one, halted at *Copputtorey;* a few little huts, twelve or fourteen, among the trees; neat and cleanly enough: with a tank *. To prevent, or at leaſt to mitigate, any alarm, kept all our people ſtrictly from entering the hamlet, only a meſſenger whom we ſent to requeſt the head-inhabitant to come and ſpeak with us. But he and the

* Some of the inhabitants manufacture a coarſe kind of cloth: partly ſent to *Trincomallée*, and into the country, and partly collected from them by the King's peon, ſent throughout the country from Candy.—The people here, do not, as in the Carnatic, pay to government any ſhare of their crops.

others

others were gone to the paddy-fields *, and partly, I believe, through ſome preconceived alarm; except one man, who came immediately, and was very willing to accommodate us. All we wanted were pots for the palankeen boys and cooleys to boil rice, and he ſupplied all he had †. Reviewed and harangued the cooleys. All ſafe and ſeemingly ſatisfied; in the courſe of the evening a few more of the inhabitants appeared; halted all night ‡.

From *Copputtorey* to *Tumbela-Caumum*.

(SIX MILES.)

FEBRUARY 6th. From delay of tents and loading, the bullocks did not move till

* This was the common pretext for their abſence on ſimilar occaſions, as I marched into the country, when I found my preſent ſuſpicion too well founded.

† He would take no money, and ſaid, "Our favour was more to him than 1000 rupees."

‡ No hut or appearance of inhabitant ſince we left the ſuburbs and environs of *Trincomallée*.

half

half paſt ſeven. About eight arrived at a river, pretty deep in the channel; which, as before, coſt us conſiderable time in croſſing. A fine river; but the water ſalt. The people here have no idea of diſtances. They told us, *Tumbela-Caumum* was ten miles from *Copputtorey*. We found it from certain calculation of our time, not more at moſt than ſix.

I had heard that ſome perſons were here, ſent lately from the King. I was doubly careful, therefore, in the ſtile of our approach, and the prohibition of entering the village; which I had alſo heard, was of ſome reſpect and conſequence. On our approach, we had the agreeable omen of the inhabitants coming forward to receive us. They did ſo with much civility, and returned with us to a very fine plain, cloſe to the village. After converſing with them here ſome time, ſeated in my chair, which, according to the cuſtomary compliment of the country, they had covered with white cloth, the principal perſon of thoſe I had heard of, came forth to pay his reſpects, with the affectation, rather than the reality, of ſome pomp and attendance.

attendance. He was a *Munnygar*, as called on the coaſt; here * *Veraumy*.

After a few compliments of courſe, I inquiring the health of the King, and he mine, he obſerved it was to be expected that his maſter ſhould be well, ſituated at eaſe and plenty in his palace, but that it might be apprehended the Engliſh ſhould be otherwiſe, having had the fatigues of coming ſo far in ſhips, and afterwards of fighting and conquering the Dutch. I told him our ſhips were ſo large and powerful, that we lived as well and as happily at ſea as on land; and that we were ſo much ſtronger than our enemies, that the conqueſt of them gave us no trouble.

He told me that the King, hearing of my coming, had appointed the general of this diſtrict, *Mauthela* diſtrict, including *Trincomallée*, *Cottiar*, &c. to come down and receive me; and that he himſelf was ſent forward to prepare the roads and accommodations for him for that purpoſe:—that he did not know till the preceding evening of my

* *Veraumy*, or, as KNOX ſpells it, *Vidaumy*, the general of a diſtrict.

coming

coming on ſo ſoon, or he would have been better provided for our reception: that he had great deſire, but little power, to accommodate us in theſe parts, oppreſſed as they had been under the Dutch; but that we ſhould have whatever we wanted, and they could ſupply. He ſent us afterwards ſome fine fowls and fiſh, cocoa-nuts, and a little rice, which it ſeems is a ſcarce commodity here, but * natchenny in plenty. I thanked him, and aſſured him of the friendſhip of the Engliſh to the King and people of the country. On telling him, in reply to his obſervation of this part of the country being only the root of the tree which bore no fruit itſelf, but made the branches produce; that the Engliſh were famous for being excellent gardeners; and that on this occaſion they would be very happy to ſhew their friendly ſkill, and make this great tree flouriſh. He ſaid it was neceſſary to ſurround valuable trees and fruits with *hedges* and *defences:* and for *ſo much care as that*

* A grain that grows in the Carnatic and Ceylon.

they

they would be very happy in the friendſhip of the Engliſh *.

Much time was taken up in the ceremonies and double tranſlation of our converſation, from his *Cingaleſe*, through *Malabar*, to *Engliſh*, by my two debaſhes; but well employed in what thus appeared authentick information of the ground being ſufficiently firm and favourable.

Another eſſential conſideration contributed to detain us; the want of rice and paddy for the ſepoys and cooleys. We obtained ſome, however, with much difficulty.

Pitched one tent on the plain, and halted all night.—The road hither was much better

* He entered into ſome particulars of the preſent and former ſtate of this town of *Tumbela-Caumum*, which is large, and has ſome good ſtone buildings; but much leſs populous and flouriſhing ſince the exactions of the Dutch reſidents there for fourteen or fifteen years paſt. The ſtaple of the place had been cattle, for which its extenſive paſturage ſeems very well calculated. He gave me ſome information too, not very faithful, as I afterwards diſcovered, of the politicks of the court, the Dutch, &c. all in the moſt figurative ſtile, with ſome agreeable turns and compliments.

and pleaſanter than yeſterday's, through lawns and openings; and as we approached *Tumbela-Caumum*, ſaw conſiderable numbers of oxen, fifty or ſixty in a herd.

From *Tumbela-Caumum* to *Tertolay*.

(SIXTEEN MILES.)

FEBRUARY 17.—Did not ſet out till ſeven, A. M. being detained by another conference, with another meſſenger, from Candy, who had arrived late the preceding evening. He was an envoy from the King; had left Candy nine days before, he told me, and was ſent forwards to prepare accommodations, &c. as the other had ſaid; with whom his account agreed; aſſuring me, expreſsly, in addition, that as the late King had always been moſt friendly inclined to the Engliſh, and deſirous of cultivating their friendſhip, ſo his preſent High-

neſs was poſſeſſed of the ſame ſentiments and diſpoſition *.

He made much apology for the want of accommodation we ſhould experience on the road, from our proceeding ſooner than he expected, and the difficulty of it for our palankeens; as there had not been time to clear it: but that as he was immediately returning to notify our approach, he would give directions as he went for as much accommodation as could be prepared.

This we found very little indeed, both on the journey of to-day, and at the end of it. Tolerably good path-ways, but the woods all the way very cloſe and low over them: which, with ſome rough and ſteep rocky

* On this topick he recommended what appeared an extraordinary caution to me, that I ſhould not believe what the people of the country as I advanced might ſay; for they were great liars, and might endeavour to inſinuate improper impreſſions of *enmity* or *indiſpoſition*, where friendſhip only exiſted.—I told him, that as I was conſcious of the moſt friendly diſpoſition of the Engliſh to the King and his ſubjects, as my commiſſion from the high authority I came from would teſtify; ſo I confided in the ſame amicable ſentiments on the part of his Highneſs.

paſſages, made it neceſſary often to alight from the palankeens.

We halted after about eight miles, half way to *Tertolay*, where there was ſome water for the ſepoys, (the cooleys had marched on before us) and breakfaſted heartily on cold fowl *, ſeaſoned with ſome excellent ſalt-beef we had got from the Admiral, and waſhed down with what Mr. CHERECH's palankeen-bearers had left him of a bottle of aniſeed, to improve the water, which wanted it much. Before three we arrived and pitched our tents on the borders of *Tertolay-lake*, within about a quarter of a mile of the village; a very extenſive and beautiful expanſe of water, finely ſkirted with riſing woods. As the chief peon, with whom I had conferred in the morning, had promiſed to prepare whatever accommodation could be ready for us, I ſent forward my two

* Our lame cook, who carried it, this morning ſaw a tiger; the drummer was ordered to ſtrike up; and the woods of Ceylon, for the firſt time, heard the grenadier's march.

meſſengers

meſſengers * with the more confidence, to notify our arrival to the head-inhabitant of the village.

The delay of my two meſſengers, who did not return for an hour and a half, ſurprized me; but I was ſtill more ſo, when they did return, with two men, the only perſons viſible in the place! This deſertion, ſeemingly at our approach, was not encouraging: our two viſitors, however, accounted for it by telling us, the inhabitants were gone to their paddy-fields. The place, at beſt, is very ſmall and poor; and their account might be true: conſidering, eſpecially, the quality of our two hoſts; one, the head-inhabitant; and the other, a man of the village, expreſsly ordered by the chief peon as he paſſed through, to procure us what we wanted, and could be ready.—This intelligence, implying the will at leaſt, qualified the apparent coolneſs of our reception,

* MAHOMMED COSSIM, a very intelligent man, whom I had engaged on the coaſt, was lately cutwal at *Carrical*, but had formerly traded to Candy, and was very reſpectably acquainted there; and ſpoke *Cingaleſe*, the language of the country. The other, a very decent old man, who came on with us from *Tumbela-Caumum*.

and

and ſcantineſs of our fare, for they had brought us only one fowl, plantains not ripe, and a dozen rotten eggs.

On the whole I remained in ſome doubt on this alternative, whether the court, not contemplating my immediate advance, had not prepared the peon with ſufficient authority, though he deſired to appear, for perſonal conſequence, perhaps, or for political reaſons, to have it; or whether there were really the diſpoſition at Candy in our favour, that was pretended. But, conſidering on the whole, the *Munnygar*'s friendly conduct and communication, and this morning's aſſurances from the chief peon, of the King, ſtill more expreſs; and concluding, that the only alternative on the ſuppoſition of fraud, is highly improbable; either that the King ſhould practiſe a treachery ſo groſs, or that theſe ſlaves of their maſter ſhould attempt it without his ſanction, I determined, without appearace of diffidence or delay, to proceed to-morrow *.

From

* I muſt do juſtice to Mr. CHERECH's judgment on this occaſion, as on many others in our expedition. He ſuſpected

From *Tertolay* to *Permaumadoo*.

(TEN MILES.)

FEBRUARY 8th.—Very long detained this morning in conſequence of the heavy rain that fell laſt night, and wetted the tents ſo much, that we were obliged to wait for their drying and becoming portable again to the bullocks, till near one o'clock in the afternoon.

We then ſet out, and after halting about half way near an hour, at our conſtant cold fowl meſs, arrived about ſix at *Permaumadoo*. The road more and more difficult, both from the cloſeneſs of the woods, and ſudden ſteepneſſes. After walking more to-day than I had done for a conſiderable time, and quitting my palankeen, the * pinjaree of which it was neceſſary to take off, I made a very

pected ſtrongly their diſpoſitions towards us:—and it muſt be confeſſed, the alluring air of their promiſes, and then the breach of them, the miſerable want of proviſions, the nature of the country, &c. &c. ſeemed to furniſh ground of apprehenſion.

* The top of the palankeen.

advantageous

advantageous change into the dooley of Moss, my writer. We croſſed two or three ſtreams as we advanced, that flow from *Tertolay-lake;* one a little on this ſide of the village, pretty large, and running over rocks. The lake opened now and then on our right-hand as we advanced, very beautifully, to various proſpects of retiring woods and hills. About two miles from where we ſet out, we ſaw grazing on its borders a vaſt number of wild buffaloes, not leſs, I believe, than two or three hundred; but which, probably, do not venture too near the alligators that abound in the lake.

As we approached cloſe to *Permaumadoo*, we were glad to ſee ſome fine paddy-ground; our rice being very nearly exhauſted: and as we had been appriſed this was a plentiful little place, we relied here on the accommodating offices of our precurſor the peon, and advanced with as much alacrity as fatigue permitted, to the encampment-ground, our preceding meſſengers had taken for us.

But that was all they had been able to do; for to our great mortification, we found this

this ſcene more deſolate than the former: exactly, in fact, what has been ſo finely pictured in poetry, "*a Deſerted Village.*"—

> "All but yon widow'd ſolitary thing,
> "That feebly bends beſide the plaſhy ſpring."

This was preciſely the ſtate of *Permaumadoo*. There was only *one old woman* to be ſeen. But ſhe was neither ſo communicative, nor authentick, as GOLDSMITH'S "ſad hiſtorian of the penſive plain." All the account ſhe would give of the abſence of the inhabitants, was the ſtale pretext of the paddy-grounds.

Our ſituation was now very unpleaſant, and choice of conduct not eaſy. In the firſt place, all poſſible care was taken to prevent our people going into the village; which, though empty of people, was full of proviſion: great ſtore of paddy; and the doors of the houſes open. But politically circumſtanced as we were, doubts of the country's diſpoſition and intention increaſing with our advances into it, the greateſt caution in our conduct became more and more neceſſary, Not a ſingle perſon, even as before in point of

of compliment, appearing on the part of the peon, of whom the old woman either knew, or pretended to know, nothing:—this too, the firſt village we had come to, fully under the King, (for the Dutch incroachments, as conſidered at Candy, had extended to *Tertolay;*) our increaſing diſappointment on this ground was, therefore, the more ſeriouſly diſcouraging, and our advance into ſuch a country the more dangerous.

Two things were neceſſary, *ſupply* and *intelligence.* But I reſolved to protract, as long as poſſible, the unpleaſant neceſſity, which might afterwards afford pretext for reſentment, of taking the former; and contrived, with ſome rice which luckily my debaſh had a good ſtock of for his own people, to ſatisfy the ſepoys and the reſt of our party this night, without invading the property of *Permaumadoo;* in hopes, poſſibly, of ſome favourable appearance of the inhabitants in the morning. As the beſt means towards intelligence, I determined to ſend ſome of my confidential people, under ſanction of a letter to the King, notifying to him in

point

point of compliment, and with all appearance of unſuſpicious friendſhip, my advance ſo far.—Beſides, I was deſirous of having an opportunity of ſtating, formally, though in appearance, curſorily, the aſſurances I had received, in my conferences at *Tumbela-Caumum*, with his people immediately coming from his Durbar, his veraundy, and chief peon.

As my meſſengers proceeded, MAHOMMED COSSIM, who ſet out with them, was to ſend me back all the obſervation he could collect at *Pulian-Caravery*, the next village, about nine miles diſtance, or further on, if he found it neceſſary to proceed a little; of every ſymptom he could collect of the diſpoſition, both of the country and the court, eſpecially if he could aſcertain whether the diſappearance of the inhabitants proceeded merely from their own fears, or any political cauſe or authority.

Others were ſent to go on with the bearer of my letter, (one of my chubdars) to report to me any thing that might occur of conſequence as they advanced; eſpecially relative to the general, whoſe friendly appointment

pointment and approach were ſo expreſsly announced to me.

I finiſhed my letter to the King, and memorandums to MAHOMMED, which PERMAUL tranſlated early the next morning, and the reconnoitring party I diſpatched with all ſpeed. We then proceeded, or laid by, as new circumſtances, or proper caution required, from the old ones, with due leiſure and circumſpection.

From *Permaumadoo* to *Pulian-Caravery*.

(TEN MILES.)

FEBRUARY 9th.—More rain, which detained us very long, but luckily, this morning, as by it I had the following interview and particulars. A man came to my tent, and gave me a letter addreſſed "*A Monſieur Monſieur, le Commandant General des Forces Angloiſes, a Trincomallée,*" when he

he told me he brought it from the Governor of *Columbo,* and ſhewed me two or three other letters, and one directed to HOMOET, late governor of *Trincomallée,* I made no ceremony with the wax of the latter, or my friend BONNEVAUX'S. But one was only on private affairs, and the other a recommendation to humanity, very properly and reſpectfully urged, of the Dutch priſoners. I incloſed them, and took this opportunity of again * writing to Capt. BONNEVAUX, by the *Columbo* meſſenger, whom I ſent on after learning from him the following information: that he had, the day before, been met and brought back by the chief peon I had ſpoken with, who examined and treated him very roughly, ſuſpecting that he came from *Columbo,* or ſome of the Dutch ſettlements. The man, however, perſiſted that he was only a trader, and found means to conceal his letters. He told him he had left *Columbo* ſeventeen days ago,

* I had written to him our good news, *as it appeared,* from *Tumbela-Caunum;* to relieve the great apprehenſion he was under of our meeting inſuperable difficulties, if not hoſtilities.

had

had come by *Negombo*, and then croſs the country through the woods. On my inquiring about the Candian ambaſſador, who had been at *Columbo* to notify the late King's death, he told me, that he had ſtaid there only three days, and had come away as ſoon as the news arrived there of the Engliſh taking *Trincomallée*, a day or two only before he left it. But his moſt immediate important intelligence, was of the chief peon, who had *in his hearing* remonſtrated with the two or three perſons that met him here and entertained him, and one of them the head inhabitant, againſt their deſerting the village; telling them how well we conducted ourſelves, and treated the people; and deſiring them to remain, and accommodate us as well as in their power.

This correſponded with the hope that occurred to me at *Tertolay*, of the peon's inclination being greater than his authority, and we were the more induced to attribute the people's abſence merely to their fears, from the information I at laſt extracted from the old woman. She ſaid, the men had been almoſt all gone five or ſix days, a few

few only coming backwards and forwards—as thoſe yeſterday, who ſhe now told us, as the *Columbo* man had received the peon; but ſhe could not confirm the important remainder of his intelligence, as to his directions in our favour. She ſaid, the women and children went the preceding day, and would have perſuaded her to go alſo; but that being infirm, and relying perhaps on the ſanctity of her wrinkles, ſhe had remained. I praiſed her good ſenſe; and endeavoured to convince her too, how much wiſer ſhe was than her neighbours, by preſenting her with two ſtar pagodas; the firſt, probably, ſhe had ever ſeen, or certainly had ever been miſtreſs of.

Conſideration of theſe particulars ſo apparently favourable, eſpecially the *Columbo* man's report, ſaved the paddy of *Permaumadoo;* as I thought myſelf now more juſtified in venturing to proceed, and finding that we could do ſo to another larger village, called *Pulian-Caravery*, where MAHOMMED * aſſured us we ſhould have plenty

* He was not yet ſet out on the reconnoitring party; but founded his opinion, on this occaſion, on what he had

plenty of proviſions. We flattered ourſelves too, that in addition to the peon's recommendation to the people, they muſt have heard through the country of our good conduct, and be the more induced to receive us; and that poſſibly the fame, even of my golden offering to the ſybil of *Permaumadoo*, might have been wafted before us, and ſerved, in ſome degree, to propitiate the *ſwaumies* of Ceylon.

Protracting, therefore, on the principle already ſtated, the *taking* of any *ſupply*, to the laſt poſſible moment; and the *political* neceſſity of intelligence towards our advance appearing now not ſo ſtrong, I determined to go on, aſſured thus of proviſion at *Pulian-Caravery*, and to detain my letter and meſſengers, to be diſpatched thence according to circumſtances. At about half paſt twelve, therefore, we ſet out, and after a ſhort halt as uſual, at the ſign of the cold fowl! (which, by the bye, had been a little too much in the ſun,) arrived at a little paſt five at *Pulian-Caravery;* or rather cloſe to

had ſeen there a few weeks before, when he went up from *Trincomallée* with my firſt letter to the King.

it,

it, for we adhered ſtrictly to our rule of not entering a village.

We might, however, have diſpenſed with it here; for there was nothing to alarm us, but empty huts: not even an old woman to preſent two pagodas to!

This anticlimax of reception ever ſince *Tumbela-Caumum*, and in proportion as we advanced into ſo ſtrange and ſtrong a country, was very unpleaſant. We wondered that the people's fear ſhould not have ſubſided; or that the chief peon's remonſtrances, if ſincere, ſhould be ſtill unſucceſsful. No trace or report of him; not a ſingle perſon even to pretend an apology! though eaſier in this village, it would ſeem, to have prevailed on ſome to remain, as it is much larger than the former: twenty or thirty houſes, ſuch as they are.—Doubts returned and encreaſed, about the peon's ſincerity, and conſequently the diſpoſition of Candy; and our two old wants of *ſupply* and *intelligence*, preſſed more and more ſtrongly on us.

Mr. CHERECH, with the caution of an old ſoldier, and a very proper ſolicitude for

thoſe under his command, was very apprehenſive on both grounds. As to the former, however, our reconnoitring party brought us intelligence, that there were many ſtore places for paddy well covered up, and plenty of natchenny in the houſes. For the latter I diſpatched MAHOMMED COSSIM, and the Candy party, with my letter to the King, early next morning.

Our road to-day rather more open than hitherto; but very deep and heavy in ſome places, eſpecially near the end of our ſtage. A general appearance of want of induſtry through the country; eaſily accounted for, where there is no encouragement to labour, for that is a virtue, which beyond the ſupply of neceſſaries, is not its own reward. But though agriculture be neglected or ill purſued, and their huts ill and clumſily conſtructed, the people ſeem rather indolent than poor. They are eaſily ſupplied by their ſun, ſoil, and rains, with more than they can conſume.

Some very romantick views relieved the way as we paſſed along. But in general, the whole courſe of the road reſembles very much

much the gravelled ways through the groves common in the grounds about our great houſes in England. Theſe gravel-walks are rather rougher, it muſt be confeſſed, both under foot, and on each ſide; but if we had travelled as men of taſte inſtead of buſineſs, unvexed by what we then conſidered as interruptions, we ſhould, on the contrary, have admired the ſudden rock, or fallen tree majeſtic in ruin; the venerable victim of ages; or recently, perhaps, before we paſſed, proſtrated athwart the little path of men, by the reſiſtleſs bulk of the lord of the foreſt; whoſe ſublime magnitude, bearing down all obſtacle before him, and on every ſide, is really awful in its effects. I have not yet been fortunate enough to ſee this *land leviathan*, whoſe wildneſs muſt indeed be ſublime; but I have ſtopped to contemplate the length and breadth of his footſteps acroſs the way. *Ex pede elephantem.*

At *Pulian-Caravery.*

FEBRUARY 10th.—After diſpatching my letter to the King, and giving particular inſtructions to the meſſengers, eſpecially enjoining MAHOMMED to write back exact intelligence on ſome ſpecific points which I gave him in writing (and this he was to do by day-break the next day, ſo that we might receive his letter in the morning, if his intelligence ſhould be favourable), we attended to our other eſſential care of proviſions, but to our exceeding diſappointment, we found that there was no rice. The ſtore-places, which were ſo carefully covered up, we found moſt thoroughly unpacked; and not a pad of paddy remaining. No alternative but natchenny; which, beſides being a very inferior and much leſs wholeſome food, has another material inconvenience, delay; firſt, in beating it out, and then in grinding it into flour. An inconvenience increaſed by the obſtinacy of the cooleys and palankeen-boys, who refuſed to work, and ſaid they would rather ſtarve:—mine eſpecially, who were

were the moſt inſolent ſet of knaves I ever ſaw: affecting high ſuperiority over the country bearers that came from *Trincomallée*, though themſelves are almoſt *outcaſts* on the coaſt, *pariars* from *Negapatam*: exacting, by the bye, an extraordinary price, for what muſt indeed be acknowledged an extra kind of ſervice. I am glad to bear, on the contrary, the moſt favourable teſtimony to the conduct of our ſepoys, under the ſtrict and able care of Mr. CHERECH; equally patient under their hunger and fatigue, and active in every labour of loading and drawing the bullocks, guarding and aſſiſting the cooleys, pitching the tents, &c. &c.

We borrowed a fowl from one of the ſepoys, who had purchaſed it from the fowl-cooley * at *Tertolay*, and curried it with the laſt plate of rice to be had. The natchenny buſineſs, though now the ſole reſource of the people, went on very reluctantly, and with much objection, from the apprehenſion of its making them ſick.

* A fellow who had fallen in with the ſepoys there, with eight or ten fowls on his head; they purchaſed his ſtock, and he conſented to join our cooley-corps.

At

At *Pulian-Caravery.*

FEBRUARY 11th.—The apprehenſion of ſickneſs among our people, laſt night, was too well founded; of which we had this morning the unwelcome proof, in the illneſs of ſome of the ſepoys, and the ſervants and attendants. The miſchief, however, had no reſource; of which the people were conſcious, and behaved very well, eſpecially the military. Mr. CHERECH managed them with equal care and kindneſs; as the rapid ebb of his arrack bottle teſtified.

Our anxiety grew the greater to hear from MAHOMMED, the diſpoſition and ability of the next village, as to people and proviſions, as well as any general intelligence he might be able to ſend of the country. Without ſome favourable intelligence on theſe heads, I determined, or rather would be determined, by the neceſſity of ſuch a ſituation, to ſend back a party to *Permaumadoo,* to negociate with (now, I hope) our friends there for the paddy, which our delicacy, too ſcrupulous, perhaps,

haps, had ſpared. But this, I hoped, for obvious reaſons, would not be neceſſary.

Three o'clock in the afternoon brought no tidings from MAHOMMED! though we had expected them at breakfaſt. We ſat down "with what appetite we may," to a little land turtle, two of which a ſepoy caught this morning; but one was of a kind not fit for uſe. This was luckily very good; and our cooks, both the lame one, and a young aſſiſtant that I had obtained for him, performed very well.

Another hour without news, added, in proportion, to our anxiety; which was now, however, agreeably relieved in a conſiderable meaſure, by two viſitors, who arrived a little after four o'clock. They told me, they were ſent from *Noatchy-wettay**, by the chief peon, who they had left there the morning of the 10th, to meet me, and let me know, he had given all poſſible directions for our accommodation, and for the clearing of the roads, with apologies for the great want of it, &c.; that the peon was proceeding as faſt as he could to Candy, to

* A village about thirty miles further.

notify

notify our approach, and that every thing would be prepared for us in the beſt manner the ſhortneſs of the time admitted: eſpecially on my examining them ſtrictly as to rice at the next ſtage, they aſſured me we ſhould find it; though perhaps at a dear price, as it had been ſcarce.

All this intelligence, and even the compliment of ſending it, was obviouſly extremely encouraging; and could not eaſily be ſuſpected to be a ſyſtem of fineſſe, ſo deeply laid from the beginning to intrap us into diſtreſs. But it is nevertheleſs true, I had yet received nothing direct or written from *authority*. The general, who I forgot to mention, theſe men ſaid, had not, as they knew, left Candy, might, I think, have heard of us, and ſent more authentically. But that, perhaps, was apprehended, would be committing the court too particularly; and the verbal reports of all theſe underlings might be denied by themſelves, or diſavowed by their maſters. I did not forget, though I ſeemed to forgive, the rejection of my letter to the King. Of the ſucceſs or ſtate of my ſecond attempt towards the correſpondence,

ſpondence, I yet knew nothing, though eleven days had elapſed, ſince my meſſenger left *Trincomallée*, and ſince which I advanced almoſt half-way to Candy. I continued, therefore, to wiſh anxiouſly for MAHOMMED's intelligence. A little before five, arrived a letter from MAHOMMED COSSIM. He wrote to PERMAUL, that on the preceding evening, he found *Minary*, the next little village to us, though not directly in the way, about ſixteen or ſeventeen miles, *entirely deſerted*. That he then went on three or four miles further, and met this morning with ſome of the people in the next, *(Wiſhtegall)* and in the woods; that he had explained particulars to them to return and remain; as it was merely from their fears of what they had heard of an *Engliſh army* being advancing, that they had removed. As to rice, *he did not know that he could obtain any*, but would endeavour by all means, if any could be procured.

This information a little damped our hopes. It repreſented ſupply as at leaſt uncertain, if not unlikely. Mr. CHERECH's ſolicitude for his men, was ſo much increaſed, that he leaned

leaned ſtrongly to the reſource of ſending back to *Permaumadoo;* and the political appearance, as to our ſafety in advancing, ſtruck him as very problematical. On that head, however, I thought MAHOMMED'S letter concurred rather favourably with the other proofs, that all this diſappearance was from the timidity of the people; and as ſo much time had already been loſt, and as even the *Permaumadoo* reſource would be very tedious, I determined to go on as expeditiouſly as poſſible. Going back would expoſe our diſtreſs, and poſſibly, after all, without relieving it. Delay might eſſentially defeat the object of my miſſion. I therefore gave orders to *beat the general*, an hour before day-break next morning.

From

From *Pulian-Caravery* to *Wiſhtegall.*

FEBRUARY 12th.—So much delay in loading bullocks and cooleys, that we did not move till half paſt ſix. I walked the firſt hour and a half through the loweſt and cloſeſt woods we had yet encountered. Halted and breakfaſted at half paſt nine, in the almoſt dry channel of a river, prettily ſkirted with woods, which, in the wet ſeaſon, muſt, from the appearance of its ſand and banks, be rapid and deep. In about an hour ſet forward. The road much better, and the country more open, and we made more than uſual progreſs. But the ſun was intenſely hot, and without my pinjeree, which I have been obliged to keep diſmounted, I felt its full influence.

After two hours and a half's march from breakfaſt, at a very good pace, bullocks and ſome of the cooleys left a long way behind under a guard, we halted again under the ſhade of ſome very fine trees, in a wide and open bottom, grown only with weeds, that

that extends ſome miles along the lake of *Minary*. Here, as we approached the lake, and ſtill more as turning a little to the right, we proceeded along its borders, the moſt noble ſcenes of nature aroſe on every ſide. The grandeſt variety of hills I had ever ſeen, of vaſt height and magnitude, and taking different diſpoſitions as we moved along, immenſe and various vallies opened upon us. The lake itſelf muſt have a fine effect in this grand ſcene, when full. It appeared now not to be near ſo; but is at all times a very noble and extenſive ſheet of water.

When our people had a little reſted from the heat and fatigue, and our bullocks joined the main body, we moved again; and in an hour and a half more, (I walked along the lake with the King of Candy's braſs-barrelled firelock, but unluckily I had only a ſingle ball, ſo that I only frightened the wild-fowl that abound on it) we at length approached the wiſhed-for environs of *Wiſhtegall*. But where wiſhes are ſo anxious, fears are in proportion. Here we were to know our fate, as to the eſſential object of proviſion;

proviſion; and, probably, the ſtate and diſpoſition of the country.

We halted our people at about a mile diſtance from the village, which lies out of the way to Candy, and Mr. CHERECH and I advanced to reconnoitre. He told me he ſaw the people running into the woods. A moſt diſcouraging omen! We went on about a quarter of a mile, to the dry bed of a river; and thence we deſcried MAHOMMED approaching, the revealer, as he was in a great meaſure, the miniſter of our deſtiny. Two of the country people with him. A propitious omen! which we found moſt agreeably verified in MAHOMMED'S report. He had taken great pains, and with ſucceſs, to quiet the alarms of the people, and they had actually returned to their houſes; but being almoſt as wild as the fowl of *Minary* lake, had been as much frightened at our approach, and ran back to the woods, as Mr. CHERECH had ſeen. Our two *Wiſhtegallians*, who were perfectly pleaſed with their interview, ſaid they would now bring them back immediately.

As

As to MAHOMMED's eſſential commiſſion, he ſucceeded moſt fortunately indeed: and very wiſely embraced all the good fortune that preſented itſelf; for he had purchaſed one thouſand meaſures of paddy—very dear, though, if price were now an object; conſiſtently with the report of the *Noatchy-wetty* men. To the ten pagodas I had furniſhed him with, he had added ten of his own: twenty pagodas for five hundred meaſures of rice! But circumſtances governing all things, it was a moſt cheap and valuable acquiſition; making us, even in the worſt event or appearance of politics, maſters of our own motions for ſome days at leaſt.

We ordered up the main body, and after repeating to them all the ſtricteſt injunctions againſt entering the village, in the preſence of many of the people, who were by this time aſſembled, and much pleaſed with our caution, we pitched our tents within about half a mile, in a charming ſituation. Juſt in the front of my tent was a very noble and venerable tree, inclining a little with age; but it was a flouriſhing *viridiſque ſenectus;*

tus; with a beautiful perſpective through its lower branches, of an amphitheatre of woods, terminating a lawn that appeared with a very new and uſeful ornament, as we have copiouſly experienced, from the very fine milk of the cows that we ſaw grazing on it.

Our truſty MAHOMMED, the prime miniſter of our ſupply and intelligence, proceeded in his care of the paddy, to have it beaten out as ſoon as poſſible by the country people; our own being interdicted the village.

Mr. CHERECH and I, after a dinner of ſalt beef, enjoyed our ſupper off a very fine fowl curried with rice, with additional ſatisfaction, from the certainty that our people would now have enough of it for ſupper for four or five nights to come: and I lay down on my cot more comfortable than I had done for many nights before.

At *Wiſhtegall.*

FEBRUARY 13th. — Notwithſtanding the exertions of MAHOMMED, our eſſential buſineſs of beating out the paddy remained incomplete; and we were detained in neceſſary conſequence all day. The hands were but few to beat out ſuch a quantity of paddy: and thoſe few were occupied by the inſolence of the palankeen-boys, who found means, when we ſent a few of them to bring the rice from the village, inſtead of beating for themſelves, to employ the country people, and to detach them from the paddy of the ſepoys. In the evening, we ſent up ſome of the cooleys under a ſmall guard; and hoped to have the whole done early the day following.

In ſupply for head-quarters, we found the ability of the people inferior to their inclinations. Our breakfaſt, indeed, was ſumptuous, with the addition of the aforeſaid milk to our tea, and a prodigious fine egg, whoſe ſize and excellence ſurprized us;

for we boldly ventured on it without inquiry. On making ſome afterwards, we found we were indebted for it immediately to Mr. CHERECH's jemaudar, but originally to the peacock, which abounds in the woods of this country.

I had this morning a viſit from a *Cingaleſe* man, juſt arrived from *Allwalay*, one ſtage about fifteen miles this ſide of Candy. He ſaid he left the general there on the 11th, and heard he was coming to receive me, and had given orders for houſes and accommodations for that purpoſe; and that the roads were cleared. This favourable information was the more comfortable, as it appeared perfectly ſpontaneous; and the man too ſimple to be ſent on any deep fineſſe. He took a pagoda too, which added to all appearance at leaſt, of his intelligence being from himſelf; as there is a rigid prohibition againſt the people accepting any preſent, when employed on publick buſineſs.

This morning PERMAUL brought me word, that four or five men had arrived, whom MAHOMMED, meeting in the village,

had brought down to our ground. He learned from the people there, that these men had been very particular and strict in inquiring about us, and our conduct since we came. The people could not do otherwise than make a very good report of us; and the men, therefore, accompanied MAHOMMED with less difficulty. With apparent candour too, they acquainted him, that they had been sent for this purpose of looking about them, and obtaining all intelligence concerning us, by some principal persons of the country, *Moatyarrs*, higher than the *Veraunies*. Expressing a desire, therefore, to go about the encampment, I directed PERMAUL to shew them all civility, and to notice their observations. They walked about with much attention, particularly to the arms, which were ranged, as usual, near my tent, and which he observed one of them very slily counting.

All this inquiry, first among the people, and ocular examination afterwards, we soon found was a prelude to a more important scene; no less than the approach of the aforesaid *Moatyarrs* themselves, whom these men acknowledged to have sent them, but

concealed

concealed from us the circumſtance of their being ſo near us. In fact, they were in an adjacent wood, waiting only the report of their ſcouts. After ſome very reſpectful and diſtant meſſaging at firſt, they made their appearance in the evening *, and opened their buſineſs with great formality.

They

* The cuſtom of tranſacting all publick buſineſs at night, ſeems peculiar to the *Cingaleſe*. It certainly is not practiſed by any other people in Aſia. It has probably ariſen from the jealous policy of their government, which is always upon the watch againſt domeſtick treaſon, which admits all ambaſſadors with reluctance, and views their conduct with ſuſpicion. Mr. KNOX, in his account of Ceylon, mentions this ſingular cuſtom, as being part of the policy of the King of Candy. He ſays, "The King's great "endeavour is to ſecure himſelf from plots and conſpira- "cies of his people, who are ſorely weary of tyrannical "government, and do often plot to make away with "him; but by his ſubtilty and good fortune together, he "prevents them. And for this purpoſe he is very vigilant "in the night: the noiſe of trumpets and drums, which he "appoints at every watch, hinders both himſelf and all "others from ſleeping. In the night alſo he commonly "does moſt of his buſineſs, calling ambaſſadors before "him, and reading the letters; alſo, diſplacing ſome of "his courtiers, and promoting others."

"Another part of his policy, is to make his country as "intricate and difficult to travel as may be; and, there-

They told me, they were ſent by the general from Candy to meet me, and in the firſt place inquired after my health, which they were afraid muſt have ſuffered from the inconveniences and want of ſupply on the road. For this they apologized largely, and ſaid it ſhould be rectified as well and as ſoon as poſſible, the general having iſſued orders for that purpoſe; but that the time had not yet been ſufficient, nor for the general himſelf to come forward to meet me, which he wiſhed to have done at *Trincomallée*, or at leaſt on the road, as had been the caſe of a former gentleman, who had come from Madras, Mr. PYBUS. That to fulfil now as well as might be, the cuſtomary and neceſſary compliments, the general requeſted I ſhould halt wherever they might meet me: that they had travelled night and day for this purpoſe, and hoped, therefore, I would remain at preſent at *Wiſhtegall*.

" fore, forbids the woods to be felled, eſpecially thoſe " that divide province from province, and permits no " bridges to be made over the rivers, nor the roads to be " made wider." KNOX *on Ceylon*, p. 44.

I replied

I replied with all poſſible thanks and compliments to the general, of whoſe obliging attention I was perfectly ſenſible, but that I begged he would not be ſolicitous on that head: for that I ſhould conſider myſelf equally honoured by the intention, and what circumſtances admitted. as if all the cuſtomary compliments had been prepared: and that as his wiſh for my ſtay aroſe merely from that conſideration, I was ſure he would wave what was ſo unneceſſary a point of form, and wiſh rather I would go on with all ſpeed, when he conſidered what eſſential motives of buſineſs and publick utility urged me forward. Beſides, I had ſtated theſe motives, and my proceeding on them, in two ſeveral letters to the King, and was therefore additionally bound to be conſiſtent, in matters of ſuch importance, and which I flattered myſelf would be agreeable to his Highneſs.

They ſtill urged their wiſh that I ſhould remain at *Wiſhtegall*, till the general ſhould come and meet me, and all due compliment be paid: and obſerved, pointedly enough, that if I came intirely on grounds of friendſhip,

ſhip, it was extraordinary I would not comply with the wiſhes and cuſtoms of friends.

Having aſſured them moſt explicitly and ſtrongly on that point of friendſhip, I endeavoured to convince them that it was therefore only I was ſo anxious to proceed; for that ſuch long delay as they recommended, (having anſwered me that the general probably would not leave Candy to come and meet me, till he ſhould hear from them) might be fatal to the friendly buſineſs I came with. However, that I had ſo much reſpect for the wiſh of every perſon in this country, that I ſhould proceed more ſlowly than I had intended, and only two ſtages more, to *Nallendy-Caravery*, till I ſhould meet him there, or hear from the King; and that I ſhould certainly remain there, or proceed, only as ſhould be agreeable to his Highneſs's commands.

At this they expreſſed great ſatisfaction, and after a minute inquiry into our whole number, ſepoys, ſervants, palankeen-bearers, and cooleys, for the purpoſe of providing a ſufficient number, as they promiſed, and ſupply for us all, they ſaid they would make

make all haſte to report the particulars of our conference to the general, and at court.

I deſired they would do ſo exactly, and repreſent, with my beſt reſpects to the general, the ſentiments I had expreſſed, and which I now repeated and enforced; and in the propriety and urgency of which, I had no doubt the general himſelf would concur, and be very happy that as little time as poſſible ſhould have been loſt.

This tedious conference concluded, Mr. CHERECH and I adjourned to more comfortable buſineſs, the diſcuſſion of our fowl-curry, which we could hardly make hot enough to encounter the night cold and extreme dampneſs of the dews. It penetrated the triple covering of my tents; and not being uſed to ſleep in a cold bath, and more than half invalid as I had been for ſome time, I felt its effect very unpleaſantly. But we had gained our main point—expedition; and the next day proceeded on our journey.

From

From *Wiſhtegall* to *Rock-River*.

FEBRUARY 14th.—The delay in preparing proviſions, and conſequently in ſetting out this day, was the leſs important, as it might in ſome degree ſeem an attention to the wiſhes of our advancing ſlowly, ſo ſtrongly preſſed by the *Moatyarrs* yeſterday.

We did not move till a little paſt four, in hopes even then of day-light ſufficient to gain a ſmall lake about eight miles diſtant, and pitch our tents there. But the road, though a little cleared, as to the immediate cloſeneſs of the wood, was ſo peculiarly rough and difficult—through little channels of broken rocks and craggy ſtones, that we advanced very ſlowly indeed, and at laſt not at all, the light which we ſhould otherwiſe have had from the ſtars, being totally intercepted by the high woods. Now, too, began the carouſals of the foreſt; and we learnt from MAHOMMED and ſome *Cingaleſe* with us, that it is very dangerous to travel

without lights and much precaution. Our bullocks too were wedged in rock, half a mile behind; abſolutely unable to come on without light and additional help.

Halting, therefore, in the dry bed of this river, which deſerves the name I give it from an immenſe rock cloſe to the place we ſtopped in, riſing to a prodigious height, we ſent back ſome ſepoys and palankeen-boys to the relief of the bullocks, with as many pieces of candle as we could ſcrape up by accident; for unluckily my candle-box, and all the lanthorns were gone on with ſome of our party, who, not knowing that our large body would be thus obliged to halt, had advanced far before us, my debaſh and writer with them; they were enough to be ſafe: ſome of the cooleys, a few ſepoys, and my orderly trooper.

The bullocks joined us in about an hour:—Mr. CHERECH made an excellent diſpoſition againſt any night attack of our foreſt enemies*; we ſupped very heartily on

* Fire being the beſt defence againſt them, we kept two great piles burning all night.

bread,

bread, cheeſe, and grog, and ſlept very ſoundly in the bed of the river of the rock.

From *Rock-River* to *Gona.*

FEBRUARY 15th.—We ſtarted at half paſt five; and in an hour and ten minutes, through woods a little, and but a little, cleared, joined our advanced parties (for they had ſeparated alſo into two diviſions) at the lake we expected to have reached the night before, the perils and dangers of which were really much more than imaginary. Beſides their hearing the deſtruction of the foreſt, not unfrequent in the night, by its huge inhabitants burſting through it, we diſcovered by a *certain* and very recent relique in the road, that one of thoſe immenſe animals had been very near the foremoſt party, in which were PERMAUL and my orderly trooper. But they had the fortune and great civility of an actual viſit from the bear,

bear, who came acroſs them after they had halted. Very inhoſpitably, the orderly fired at him; and *bruin*, not reliſhing this unexpected return for his politeneſs, returned without farther ceremony. We breakfaſted here, and made a long halt of three hours. In two more reached *Noatchy-Wetty*, where two or three of the inhabitants came forward very frankly to receive me, and converſe with us. We had found, in various places, leſs of that fooliſh timidity, and much more diſpoſition to intercourſe in the *Choliars* of the country, who are Mahommedans, and quite diſtinct * in their manners, from the other more numerous and ſuperior claſs, the *Cingaleſe*.

Our *Choliar* viſitors inquired very particularly for the Nabob, for whom they have high reſpect, and very cordially promiſed to procure us ſome fowls and eggs. But MAHOMMED, whom, as uſual, we had diſpatched

* Of this diſtinction I conceive ſome advantage might in future be made, in the poſſible caſe of political diſagreements with a people ſo bigotted and obſtinate as the *Cingaleſe* appear to be. The *Choliars* have a chief of their tribe at court. They ſeem a more manly, effective race of men than the other.

before

before us, had in the mean time ſaved them the trouble, and prevailed on ſome of the *Cingaleſe* to come out to us with a few.

Here, too, we found a material diſtinction; for on offering them a few pagodas, the *Choliars* had no manner of objection, and were actually coming forward to take them, till prevented by the *Cingaleſe*, the principal of whom made a long and loud ſpeech on the occaſion, of the guilt of accepting any reward on the King's ſervice.

Another particular too I ought not to omit, as I confeſs it has ſurpriſed me a little, and ſhews at leaſt that odd thoughts have been in other heads as well as ours. Before we left them, one of the *Choliars* took MAHOMMED aſide, and in great confidence and ſolemnity urged, that we ſhould be on our guard againſt the treachery of the *Cingaleſe*, whom he repreſented in the moſt perfidious colours; and recommended, particularly, that we ſhould not go into the houſes they might prepare for us. This inſinuation may be the reſult merely of the envy and ill underſtanding between them; but touching the ſtring that has already been ſo wound up,

it

it heightens the note of caution at leaſt, if not of ſuſpicion.

After a long halt at *Noatchy-Wetty*, for our men were much fatigued, we arrived, between five and ſix in the evening at our next ſtage near *Gona*, that is, we pitched our tents in the road, and a very narrow one; cloſed up with woods and hills, and if among others than friends, we were in a very unpleaſant and dangerous ſituation. But Mr. CHERECH, as uſual, took all poſſible and judicious care of every thing; and not only ordered, but went himſelf round every department of cooleys and bullocks, as well as ſepoys, and ſaw, according to the wakeful notification which all our ſentries repeated aloud every quarter of an hour through the night, "*All's well.*"

From *Gona* to *Choultry-Plain*.

BESIDES the circumſtances of ſuſpicion that have occurred on our part, ſo many more anxious appeared on theirs, that I was very

very ſolicitous to reach *Nallendy-Caravery*, where I hoped to meet the general, or ſome of their principal people, and come to an eclairciſſement of mutual confidence. But the roads have been ſo rocky and rough to-day, that after a long halt at the ſide of a very pleaſant river, ten miles on this ſide of *Gona*, (where I was lucky in meeting a man whom my people knew, returning to *Tumbela-Caumum*, and by whom I ſent a few lines to Capt. BONNEVAUX, acquainting him with our progreſs, with thanks for the wines and good ſpirits we had received from him the night before)—we were at laſt, and with much difficulty arrived only here, five or ſix miles, I am told, ſhort of *Caravery*. I take the liberty of naming this fine plain, *Choultry-Plain*, on the report of MAHOMMED, who told me there were the remains of a fine old choultry. I was ſo fatigued, that I took his word. The bold openneſs of this ſituation was a good contraſt to our incloſure the night before, "bound in with ſaucy doubts and fears."

The proſpects of to-day very grand and various. Stupendous hills on our right as we

we paſſed; and the immenſe height to which they carried their verdure, with now and then abrupt faces of rock breaking through, added great ſublimity to the beauty of the ſcene.

From *Choultry-Plain* to the River *Nallendy.*

FEBRUARY 17th.—About eight in the morning came two meſſengers from the general, to let me know that he had received my meſſage from *Wiſhtegall* by the *Moaty-arrs;* and that, in conſequence of his orders, all poſſible ſpeed had been uſed in preparing a houſe, &c. for me, near *Nallendy-Caravery;* but that as it could not be ready till evening, it was hoped I would ſtop here a little, and that every thing ſhould be done as well and as ſoon as poſſible. I told them, with thanks and reſpects to the general, that though I had been juſt ready to move, yet anxious to comply with the wiſhes of my friends, I would ſtop for a few hours, as deſired;

desired; and would be very happy, when I advanced, and it should be convenient to the general, to have the pleasure of meeting him. They said they left him at *Allwalay*, yesterday, but believed he would come on to *Nallendy* to-day. They then took leave, and returned in great haste.

I was very glad to learn intelligence from these men, of SOLYMAN and CHUBDAR, the bearers of my letters from *Trincomallée* and *Pulian-Caravery*, of or from whom I had yet no account; but they told PERMAUL, on inquiry, that they had both gone on, and my letters were forwarded.

In consequence of the above arrangement, we did not move till half past twelve, and in about an hour and ten minutes, as we were proceeding very quick along some fine road, which compensated a little for a great rocky hill we had just passed over, I was met by three or four persons, of some consequence apparently, from their train; among whom were some bow and pikemen.

They were also just come from the general at *Allwalay*, but hearing of my arrival, they supposed he would soon be here.

After

After their uſual compliments and apologies, they obſerved, that as the court might now be conſidered as at *Nallendy-Caravery*, many of the principal perſons being there, and it being a place always of particular eſtimation and conſequence, it was the cuſtom, and would be expected as a proper compliment, that I ſhould alight from my palankeen, and walk the reſt of the way.

I was a little ſurpriſed by this extraordinary ſtrain of reſpect, required at ſo many degrees from the throne; but aſſuring them of my ſincere deſire of complying with the cuſtoms of the court, and paying every compliment in my power, conſiſtently with the propriety of my own ſituation, I told them that if even this were to be conſidered ſo, I ſhould be unable to conform to it, being much indiſpoſed with the fatigues of my journey, and the heat of the weather. They repeated it was the cuſtom, and therefore only they mentioned it, but that I ſhould certainly do what was agreeable to me. I reaſſured them as before; and that whatever was moſt agreeable to the King, would be ſo to me, as far as ſhould be in my power.

They desired then to go, that they might trim up the house, they had been able to make ready, with white cloth, and begged I would stop a little till it could be done. They promised not to exceed an hour, and that they would then send to conduct me.

We halted, therefore, in a very pleasant shade, near the river *Nallendy;* now with little water, but in the rainy seasons a full and strong stream. Here was a number of houses, as they call them, but in fact, nothing more than huts, of mud walls and straw, neatly enough, however, constructed, and ranged not unlike small squares of colleges, some within others, with one elevated in the centre, and larger than the rest. There was also a neat cottage, built by the late King as a place of pleasure, and very agreeably situated, near the river, on the other side of which rose very fine hills, covered with trees and verdure. This country so far justifies those who place Eden here, for it abounds, according to the Poet of Paradise, with "woody theatres of stateliest view." This rustick palace, however,

however, like other Richmonds, remains unfiniſhed.

While we halted, two or three perſons came, and ſlyly counted our people; but I was not ſorry at this ſymptom, prognoſticating a complete preparation of proviſions.

At the River *Nallendy*.

THE perſons who had met us on the road, more than doubled their appointment of an hour; and it was paſt four when we moved near the river to our new habitation, which had really a very pretty appearance as we approached it. The green walls of cocoa-nut leaves, very neatly interwoven, and bound and pannelled with laths, and the roofs very compact with wattling, and well thatched, appeared both cool and comfortable; with the rural magnificence of a ſpacious Pandaul, croſs which we entered: there were two

rooms joined on each ſide, with an open way between:—each about fifteen feet ſquare. In mine was prepared a ſeat of rather inconvenient dignity and elevation.

Here I ſat ſome time, expecting a viſit, or inquiry, at leaſt, from our hoſts: but none appeared. Soon, however, were ſent an amazing number of cocoa-nuts, almoſt three hundred, as we afterwards found. This looked like a plentiful prelude to the various proviſion that we expected to follow; fruit eſpecially: though I was moſt deſirous to have the rice expedited, the men having had very little in the morning; only the ſavings of the former day.

Not having the ſmalleſt doubt of a complete ſupply of all kinds, I was aſtoniſhed in proportion at finding it did not extend a grain beyond the cocoa-nuts! I ſent MAHOMMED to inquire if any of the perſons we had juſt met on the road were yet here; and on his reporting that two remained, I deſired they might come to me: and on finding from them that no rice was prepared;

pared, nor to be procured, but by immediate orders from the general, whom they had ſent to at *Allwalay*, but could not, therefore, expect till to-morrow; I thought it not impolitick to indulge, what the occaſion ſo juſtly provoked, an almoſt angry ſurprize at ſo eſſential a diſappointment. I expoſtulated very ſtrongly on the neceſſity of our people's ſituation, without proviſions; and on the certain expectation we had for ſome days paſt been induced to entertain of complete ſupply here: for that otherwiſe we ſhould have taken care to obtain and bring it with us; but as they had known ſo long of our immediate approach, both from my letters and meſſengers, and their own, the chief peon, particularly, from *Tumbela-Caumum*, and many ſince; I certainly had reaſon to rely, at leaſt, on the neceſſary ſupply for my people *here*, where proviſion ſo plentifully abounded, as I had been uniformly aſſured *all poſſible accommodation and ſupply ſhould be prepared*, and that the general *had already given orders for that purpoſe:* particularly by the *Moatyarrs* at *Wiſhtegall*, four days ago, with whom I had ſettled my

route

route to come on thus far, and who had aſcertained my expectation of ſupply, here, at leaſt, if not ſooner, by taking an exact account of the number of all our people for that purpoſe (and the general had ſent to me that he had received my meſſage, &c. from *Wiſhtegall.*) Of this I reminded one of theſe two perſons who attended them there as an adviſer or aſſiſtant. He ſeemed a ſhrewd old gentleman, and a man of buſineſs.

To all this he could only anſwer, there had not been orders ſufficiently particular from the general, to authorize the people to ſupply us as they wiſhed; but that he would be here to-morrow himſelf.

Our conference concluded with my reſtating the abſolute neceſſity of our ſituation, and requiring, therefore, as emphatically as I could, that it might immediately be repreſented, with all that had paſſed, to ſome of the perſons of the court, who I underſtood were then at *Nallendy-Caravery* *, and I ſuppoſed, though the general was abſent,

* The town about half a mile on the other ſide of the river.

could

could give the neceſſary orders immediately: adding, in compliment, my beſt reſpects and acknowledgments for the houſe already prepared, and ſo commodiouſly, conſidering the ſhortneſs of the time.

The men promiſed to make all ſpeed, and return in an hour.—After waiting upwards of ſix hours, neither rice, anſwer, nor any notice of us from *Caravery* arrived, except a conſiderable number of men poſted on the other ſide of the river to watch us. It would have been wiſer in them to have fed us.

At the River *Nallendy*.

FEBRUARY 18th.--The morning elapſed in expectation and diſappointment. I wondered at the patience of the men, who hardly even complained. About one or two o'clock in the afternoon SOLYMAN returned, the bearer of my firſt letter to the King, from *Trincomallée*.

After

After a long account of his delays and difficulties, in going up with my letter, miſled into wrong and bad roads, by the peons he went with,—and at laſt, on his arrival at *Allwalay*, of his being moſt ſtrictly and fully examined by the general there, to whom he was known, on all particulars relative to the Engliſh, his letter having in the mean time been forwarded to court; he then told me he had left *Allwalay* late the preceding night, at the ſame time with two generals*, who were advancing with great pomp and retinue to meet me, that he had left them on the way, and ſuppoſed they would ſoon be here.

Matters appeared thus to clear up very ſatisfactorily, and I was in hopes of proceeding both on buſineſs and rice immediately; but much exerciſe for our patience yet remained, from the ſlowneſs and obſtinate forms of this extraordinary people.

But not till near ſeven in the evening had we any notice of their arrival at *Nallendy-Caravery:* It was then notified to me

* Or great perſons:—he did not exactly know their rank.

with

with much ceremony, by the peon we had ſeen at *Tumbela-Caumum,* and one of the chief attendants. They told me that a Pandaul was prepared near my houſe, for my meeting theſe perſonages, according to the cuſtom of the country on ſimilar occaſions, and that now it was a form peculiarly proper, as they were of higher rank than uſual.

From the appearance of things about me, and the converſation of my people, they underſtood, it ſeemed, what I expected, that the viſit ſhould be made to me by theſe perſons. I certainly did ſo, but they had as certain orders to the contrary. For on my telling them, after proper compliments, that I ſhould be ready to have the pleaſure of receiving them here, they adhered rigidly to the Pandaul aſſignation. Beſides the cuſtom, and they ſaid this durbar had many peculiar ones, ſo ancient and ſacred that they could not be departed from, they argued that it was perfectly proper to meet half way, and at a third place; as the perſons coming to meet me were ſent immediately

diately from the King, as I was from the Governor of Madras.

This was as eaſily anſwered in *argument* from the additional character I bore, as their *cuſtom*, was in *fact*, by the inſtance of Mr. PYBUS's reception, who received a viſit from a general at *Nallendy-Caravery*. On their doubting this, I referred to his journal; and then they had only to ſay, that there being now two perſons, and of higher rank* than that general, the caſe was eſſentially different. I was very unwilling to give up this firſt point, in which too, I was ſure I was right. On my perſeverance, therefore, qualifying however, a little, by offering to receive them at or even near my door, and then accompany them; it was agreed that if it ſhould appear to them that Mr. PYBUS's reception had been as I ſtated, there ſhould be no farther difficulty.

It muſt appear extraordinary that above two hours ſhould be expended on this diſcuſſion, and one or two other points. But

* So they then inſinuated, but untruly, as I afterwards found. They were *Secretaries*.

ſuch

ſuch was their ſlowneſs and repetition. And it was with difficulty I at laſt got them away, after urging, in very ſtrong terms to them, the groſs diſappointment and neglect on their parts, and the preſſing neceſſity on ours, as to proviſions.

Many tedious meſſages enſued as to the point of meeting. At laſt two new perſons advanced from them; and deſiring to ſee my debaſh PERMAUL, who was my *Malabar* interpreter, and MAHOMMED, (my *Cingaleſe*) communicated their two ſtrong points of determination, and which they knew were my feeble ones, as to *expedition* and *proviſion:* that their orders now, and cuſtoms always were, as had been ſtated by their meſſengers; as they found alſo on reference to the inſtance of Mr. PYBUS; (not true) that therefore they would come to the Pandaul; if I did not chuſe to meet them there, they muſt ſend from thence to the King, *and wait his further roders.* And as for proviſions, they had been as induſtrious as poſſible in preparing them; but none could be ſupplied till after the interview with the ambaſſador.

I confeſs

I confeſs the ambaſſador was puzzled between his rights and dignity on one hand, and his buſineſs and the wants of his people on the other. But determining, without heſitation, in favour of the latter, I anſwered, that when I found they had croſſed the river, (which was rather gaining the point between us) I ſhould meet them, and accompany them to the Pandaul.

They came accordingly, attended and belighted moſt ſplendidly; with a great number of maſaulgies, umbrella-bearers, peons, &c. and forty or fifty firelocks; of courſe, we were neither ſo numerous nor magnificent, ſtudiouſly indeed not ſo in the latter particular, for I requeſted Mr. CHERECH to change his intention of half his number for a guard, and to take only twelve. I ſaw their apprehenſions had been their great obſtacle to the advance of buſineſs; and I was anxious to avoid appearances, even that might continue or revive them.

At

At the River *Nallendy.*

FEBRUARY 19th.—Being aſſembled in the Pandaul, but not till half paſt one in the morning! with all our ſuites, lights, &c. and ſeated, they on a raiſed bench prepared rather too high, I thought, and I on my own chair, covered with white cloth, they deſcended very ſolemnly, and we ſtood all the time the ceremonies and inquiries were going on; which was very ſlowly indeed, they were ſo ſurpriſingly tedious, and particular; firſt for the Governor of Madras, then the Nabob, then the Members of Council, then the Gentlemen at Madras; with half a dozen of obſervations on each, of their happineſs and their health, their hopes for its continuance, their being ſo glad at whatever I happened to ſay in reply, &c.

After my ceremonials in return, equally tedious, but neceſſary, it ſeemed, for his Highneſs, the Prime Miniſter, the Generals, &c. we ſat; and they began a moſt minute inquiry as to the force, and all the particulars of the operations of the Engliſh fleet and

and troops that had come to Ceylon. I ſatisfied them amply as to theſe points, as well as to the whole hiſtories of *Negapatam* and *Trincomallée*, except the immediate preſent deſtination of the fleet; I told them only that the Admiral was to be joined by the great additional force both of ſhips and troops hourly expected from Europe: but that as to the next ſervice they were going upon, being a delicate point of moſt important conſequence, which my confidential ſituation had given me an opportunity of knowing pretty certainly, perhaps, I could not enter on it now; but ſhould be happy, when I had the honour of ſeeing his Highneſs, and advancing on confidential ground with him, to communicate all particulars to him in the moſt ſatisfactory manner. They ſeemed to admit the propriety of this; and then changing the ſubject, they ſaid they had alſo ſome points of a delicate nature to mention, and wiſhed, therefore, the people, who thronged cloſely about us, to retire.—With great ſolemnity they proceeded to repreſent the ſacredneſs of their cuſtoms, and hoped what they had to propoſe relative to them

them would not be disagreeable. I agreed as to the respect due to custom, especially of so ancient a country; but not to answer particularly, till I knew what particulars they had to propose.

The first, I confess, surprised me, which they stated very seriously, that it had always been the custom for ambassadors to go to Candy by way of *Columbo*. They therefore wished that I would go the *Columbo way*, and then they would be able to receive me more as they wished, with more pomp and greater convenience; for that I had hitherto come by a way that no ambassador had ever come, and that its want of accommodation for me and my people was a serious concern to the court. If they meant, as it struck PERMAUL, that I should actually pass *through Columbo*, it was a most curious attempt to prorogue my business till our complete destruction of the Dutch should leave no option between them and us,—but I rather thought they had only meant I should go some roundabout way into the *Columbo* road, and make my approach on that side. The answer was pretty obvious; that

that as I had been at *Trincomallée*, and not at *Columbo*, I could only come from the former place; and that my buſineſs was too important and urgent to admit any delay, or change in my route: but that, in fact, an Engliſh gentleman * had come to Candy ſome years ago, pretty nearly the ſame way that I came. They ſaid, that his was a ſtolen and wandering ſort of expedition; but they conſidered mine in a quite different and much higher light. More perſons, therefore, and of higher rank, would meet me, and it was wiſhed to pay me every proportionate compliment, which could be better done *that way according to cuſtom.*

This ſtrange propoſal, however, ſo *out of the way* † at preſent, they ſtill perſiſted in, after ſome farther converſation, and I have ſtated it at full, only to ſhew how tenacious they muſt be of forms and cuſtoms, practicable on the ſpot, when they could affect

* Mr. Pybus.

† I found afterwards, that the roads they inſiſted on my taking, loſt me near forty miles; from *Nallendy-Caravery*, being only about twenty miles the direct road, and the way I was obliged to go, fifty-ſeven.

ſuch

ſuch adherence to one ſo unreaſonable and difficult, if not impoſſible.

My ready promiſe to comply with the cuſtoms of the court, which they enumerated, in delivering my letters, &c. gave them much pleaſure; with my warm profeſſions of every reſpect and friendſhip towards the King: which I gave them to underſtand was the ſole ground of my compliance in the inſtance they required; for that they could not ſuppoſe an Engliſh ambaſſador would be ſwayed by any example or cuſtomary conduct of the Dutch, who were a little people, without a King, and with *no fleets nor armies*. They ſaid, they were perfectly ſenſible of the great power and ſuperiority of the Engliſh, and that much higher reſpect would therefore be ſhewn to me, than had ever been to the Dutch, or any other ambaſſador.

Only one important point remained, as to the manner of my approach to Candy, and the only one on which we differed; the number of my ſepoys. They urged, that they were abſolutely unneceſſary; that his Highneſs would order a ſufficient guard of

his ſepoys for me, or any number I required; therefore, I ſhould want none of my own, but that if I deſired, I might have ſix or ſeven with me, and they hoped I would not think of bringing more. On this point I was leſs influenced now than I ſhould have been ſome days before, by the conſideration of *ſafety*, merely from Candian politicks. Still, however, having heard much, and ſeen ſomething of their duplicity, it was not wholly out of the queſtion. But on other grounds alſo, I was extremely anxious to retain my ſepoys. They were by far the beſt part of *my appearance*, and would be a requiſite, as well as reſpectable diſtinction, above the rabble train, but very numerous and ſhowy, that the Dutch always brought with them. Beſides, it was an eſſential part of the ſepoy-plan originally, to ſhew our ſoldiers to the King and his generals, to impreſs them with due reſpect for the military ſuperiority of their new friends.

I partly ſtated this idea to them, that I hoped it would give great pleaſure to the King and his court, to ſee as many of their friends as they could, eſpecially friends ſo reſpectable

reſpectable and efficient: but that as to myſelf, it would be contrary to my duty, in the character I bore, to give up ſo eſſential a part of its dignity: that in ſincere reſpect to the dignity of their court, and ſacredneſs of their cuſtoms, I had promiſed compliance in the inſtances they required, that I claimed, therefore, in this important inſtance, a reciprocal reſpect from them to thoſe high powers I repreſented:—beſides, the ſmall guard I had with me, though in the preſent conſideration, merely objects of appearance and attendance, might on my return poſſibly be neceſſary to me in point of defence againſt enemies, or unforeſeen dangers.

This argument ſpun out to great length. They then advanced one little ſtep, and ſaid I might bring *eight*, and at laſt they offered to conſent to *ten*. I had hitherto been rigid to my whole number; but ſeeing, contrary to my expectations, from their extreme obſtinacy, that they yielded a little,—I thought it beſt to offer them at once, and finally a compromiſe of half my number, twenty-five; making a high merit of it, as a conceſſion that I was not juſtified to myſelf in

making, but as a teſtimony of my extreme deſire to meet their wiſhes.

Reduced thus, like old LEAR, from my fifty knights to five-and-twenty, I, like him too, expected permiſſion even for them: but was a little afraid, on the contrary, of the ſame reply, "What need one?"—The two negociators ſaid they would, according to their orders, ſend all particulars of our conference to court, particularly the latter, and that orders would then be returned, for our proceeding, according to the King's pleaſure. I preſſed to go on immediately, if poſſible, for that time was eſſentially precious, but to no purpoſe,—their orders and cuſtoms were ſacred, and muſt be complied with. They promiſed, however, to diſpatch with all ſpeed, and ſaid they expected an anſwer the third day. I did not believe them; but waited patiently.

Our conference, which was incredibly tedious, concluded at laſt with a very minute inquiry, on their part, into the nature and number of the preſents I had brought for the King? how many boxes or trunks contained them? and how many men would be required

required to carry them? Having but few, and of little weight, I parried particulars as well as I could.

We ſeparated not till paſt *ſeven o'clock* in the morning! the preſſing article of ſupply for our almoſt ſtarving people began at laſt to be attended to. Rice was ſent, with proper accompanyments, but little more than ſufficient for a day for the ſepoys. So that the cooleys, poor fellows, and the palankeen-boys, whom I leſs pitied, were ſtill kept at ſhort, and ſome at no, commons. I ſent repeated remonſtrances, and for a little better attention too, to head-quarters; for they had ſent only the ſame fare for Mr. CHERECH and me.

At the River *Nallendy*.

FEBRUARY 20th.—This is the land flowing neither with milk nor honey. Except a few eggs in addition we only received our rice and its accompanyments, which made,

made, however, a great ſwing on the bamboos. SOLYMAN brought a couple of fowls moſt ſeaſonably, of a ſtock he had had on his tour at *Caravery*. But it was ſome comfort in our *ſtarvation*, to find, it was rather from ſcarcity, than neglect. Rice had not been in plenty, and quantities had been collected higher up. Good, at leaſt, in proſpect; and as to fowls, none were to be given us by authority; it being the *cuſtom* for the King to prohibit any life being taken in his dominions, *unleſs in private*, as themſelves all do from theſe fowls, and as we were permitted to do by connivance.

At the River *Nallendy*.

FEBRUARY 21ſt.—Our people were at laſt attended to: and laſt night, palankeeners, cooleys, and all had plenty of rice, &c. except gee and ſpice of ſome ſort, which the ſepoys complained much of the want of, and

and of their not being permitted to buy: for that is the aukward conſequence of their punctilious hoſpitality. The great folks either would not, or I believe could not, order us what we wanted, aud the lower people were not permitted to take money for what little they could furniſh us with. This was peculiarly ſevere on the table at head-quarters, where the laſt two fowls of SOLYMAN'S ſtock, this day, made their appearance: and unleſs reſources had ariſen, would have left us prematurely in a very literal Lent; not only as to all manner of fleſh, but without fiſh, butter, and milk, and very few eggs.

This morning I had notice of the two old gentlemen at the river ſide, where I met them, determined, if I could, without offence or delay, to rectify ſome of the punctilios in which they had improperly taken advantage of me. I expected, therefore, that I ſhould this day have the compliment of the hand, which I had ſhewn on the former; and that one of them ſhould now *hand me* to the Pandaul, as I had him. Abſolute objection was made to this,

this, as contrary to cuſtom, and their orders.

I inſtanced, in ſtrong terms, the difference of reſpect ſhewed Mr. PYBUS, who had been *viſited* at the houſe prepared for him, at this very place, by a general: complained of the miſinformation attempted on that head and others, by the perſons ſent to me the other evening, and argued, that the miſtake ought now to be rectified as fully as poſſible.

This the ſpokeſman contrived at laſt, but not till after many repetitions and explanations, by a reſource perfectly ſatisfactory to me, as to puctilio, though in fact the invention of the moment. He ſaid the *viſit* was all along *intended* to me: but that the place prepared for me, not being large enough, the Pandaul was made ready—*which was to be conſidered alſo as my houſe*. This ſolved all points. I immediately ſent a chubdar and peon to take poſſeſſion, and then handed my new gueſt to my new houſe.

But I found there they had nothing new to ſay, and it was merely a *viſit*, as I am now

to

to call it, of ceremony, and perhaps to make farther obſervations of us and our manners. After compliments, and ſome very honeſt complaints on my part, as to proviſions, they told me they had diſpatched, early yeſterday, to the King, an account of all our preceding conference; and as the Prime Miniſter and Generals, whoſe office it was to expedite ſuch buſineſſes, wiſhed it as much as we; they hoped for an anſwer that night, or the next morning; which they promiſed to communicate as ſoon as received; and beſides, they wiſhed to ſee me again, as they had other matters to converſe upon, but that being now dinner-time, they would for the preſent take leave. I preſſed them, if they did not chuſe to ſtay, to let me have the pleaſure of ſeeing them in the evening. But they poſtponed till next day.

Dry rice and quantities of pumpkins, agreed as ill with the men, as the *ſtrict Lent did at head-quarters!*

At the River *Nallendy*.

FEBRUARY 22d.—The morning elapſed without any intelligence of, or from the other ſide of the river; and if there were no buſineſs to make time anxious, pleaſant enough it might be in our houſe of audience, charmingly ſituated near the river, which murmurs along coolly and clearly under its ſloping banks and high overſhading trees. Mr. CHERECH and I had taken complete poſſeſſion, and breakfaſted and dined there, on the little we could make out, of egg-curry, but without the eſſential ingredient of greens, and a miſerable rice-pudding, that manufacture not being the fort of our travelling kitchen.

After dinner the approach of our two friends was announced; who paid a long evening viſit. MAHOMMED had juſt learned and told me that they had received, in the morning, a letter from Candy, and that the Prime Miniſter there had died the day before. This, I feared, might add delay; but expected particulars from my viſitors.

None

None were communicated. Concealed, on the contrary, they denied having received or heard any. But after a long converſation, relating, very tediouſly, all their cuſtoms, and reaſſuring themſelves of my willingneſs to conform to them; and inquiring again, ſtill more minutely than before, into all the particulars of our fleet and army, and ſucceſſes againſt the Dutch that I had been witneſs of, at *Negapatam* and *Trincomallée*, which I fully gratified, and in ſome points ſurpriſed them with; the old gentleman at laſt told me, on my preſſing for expedition, the moment he ſhould be authoriſed from Candy, that he expected it immediately: that he was obliged, however, to go, early in the morning, to *Allwalay*, to the general, whom he would make very happy by communicating to him all I had ſaid, both of the ſentiments, great power, and ſucceſſes of their friends: and that he would return the ſame night, or next morning. I could make no reply to this new delay, but to urge that it might be as ſhort as poſſible; and was very glad to ſee them at laſt incline to move.

As

As to their favourite ground of cuſtom for their demands of ſuch extraordinary reſpect, finding they were endeavouring, (as in the Pandaul inſtance, and in the firſt demand on my coming hither, that *I ſhould walk*) to exact new, rather than be content with the old, I was very glad to find them wave, and ſeem perfectly ſatisfied too, with my remonſtrance againſt one, which they at firſt ſtated very ſolemnly, and required among others, that *I ſhould throw myſelf proſtrate on the ground*, as the Prime Miniſter and all the Generals did, on approaching his Highneſs, and ſo remain, till permitted to riſe. This was given up; and the ceremony of the knee, to which I aſſented, agreed on *.

Towards the cloſe of our converſation, I was ſurpriſed at the perſonal curioſity expreſſed as to myſelf, and the manner the old gentleman put his queſtions to me. He

* This ceremony the Dutch ambaſſadors to the court of Candy were always obliged to ſubmit to, until the concluſion of the laſt war between them; when it was made a condition of the treaty of peace, that it ſhould be laid aſide in all their ſubſequent negociations.

did

did a rude thing as civilly as poſſible; apologiſing and explaining that friends wiſhed to know all particulars of each other, and that the King would conſider my merit in coming to him as the greater, when he knew what ſituation, and what connections I had conſented to leave for that purpoſe: he would, therefore, be infinitely obliged to me if I would let him know what rank I ſtood in, and how long? and then all my private ſituation; was I married?—any children?—and how many?—father or mother alive?—or any brothers and ſiſters?—and how many?—and what eſtate? No New-England-man could be more inquiſitive; nor at the ſame time a Pariſian more polite. I made great friendly merit in ſatisfying his curioſity in what I thought proper, and he expreſſed much pleaſure and obligation.

At

At the River *Nallendy.*

FEBRUARY 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th.—I never paſſed ſo many days ſo anxiouſly. It was near twelve o'clock of the 28th, the *ſixth* day ſince the old ſecretary left us, with a poſitive promiſe to return from *Allwalay* the 1ſt or 2d, but till within this half hour I had heard nothing of, from, or concerning him, except a report of what I ſuſpected, from the firſt, that he was gone to Candy. Now, indeed, we learned from the men who came with proviſions, in conſequence of a very emphatical meſſage, which I took a lucky opportunity of conveying yeſterday to the other old gentleman who remained at *Caravery,* that a general, of the *Paulipanny* diſtrict, and another eminent perſon, had left Candy, and arrived at *Allwalay* yeſterday, and were expected by the travelling old ſecretary at *Caravery* this day.

I repeated my meſſage of yeſterday to theſe people, but doubted their carrying it; re-urging expedition, and requiring, with all poſſible

poſſible civility and compliment, an anſwer, with ſome information relative to our and their motions. For every means of this, have ſtudiouſly been prevented. With a care, indeed, that increaſed not a little the anxiety of my ſpeculations, in addition to the ſimple circumſtance of delay. No paſſage, for ſome days paſt, permitted to any of our people to the other ſide of the river, where guards, or watchmen rather, were conſtantly poſted. I endeavoured by little detached parties towards ſome of the neighbouring villages, and by circuitous ways over the river too, to obtain intelligence, if they could ſlyly, and fowls avowedly. But they brought us ſcanty ſupplies of both. The 27th, one of them returned with a repetition of the former report, of a Dutch ambaſſador from *Columbo*, and of his being actually on his way, with Europeans and Malays.—SOLYMAN, captain of our ſcouts, was diſpatched this morning with one of our *Cingaleſe*, to be aſcertained, if poſſible, on this important point. But indeed, excluſively of this, or any other difficulty or adverſity that might ariſe, the obſtinate dilatory

ſpirit

ſpirit which ſo ſtrangely delayed even the beginning of my buſineſs, made me almoſt deſpair of its effectual concluſion, in time for the expected publick ſervice *; if what other delays have rendered, perhaps, not very probable, that we ſhould be able, after all, to proceed as expected. In my

* The attack of *Columbo*, and the other Dutch ſettlements in Ceylon. This being a great object of the ſouthern expedition, which had commenced ſo fortunately and ſo early by the capture of *Negapatam*, (the 10th Nov. the preceding year) I had often the honour of diſcuſſing the ſubject there with Sir EDWARD HUGHES and Sir HECTOR MUNRO.—The latter was ſo obliging to enter on it particularly, and to give his opinion as to the number of troops neceſſary, &c. Expedition, however, was an article as neceſſary as force. Unfortunately, *but I ſuppoſe unavoidably*, the fleet remained near two months at *Negapatam*, after its capture.—After the taking of *Trincomallée*, when Sir E. HUGHES was preparing to ſail for Madras, the latter end of Jan. 1782, the laſt converſation I had the honour of holding with him on the ſubject, was very particular, as ſtated in the introduction. It was then agreed, that by my gaining my way to Candy with the beſt expedition, the requiſite meaſures might be effected for aſſiſting and ſecuring the important objects intended:—as the fleet could not act on the weſtern ſide of Ceylon till the middle of April, and Sir EDWARD's intention was to return immediately from Madras, to act with Commodore ALMS's ſquadron, which was expected every hour.

little

little department of it, if I have erred, it has been as I wiſhed, on the ſide of expedition. For if I had not advanced as I did, it is obvious that it would have been utterly impoſſible to have effected any thing towards the ſervice for this ſeaſon. Coming on, even as I have done, and removed as all their doubts and fooliſh fears ſeemed to be, yet the bigotry of this extraordinary people to their ſlow cuſtoms and all their forms, rendered any timely arrangement with them very improbable. I hope it is evident that I had given all poſſible chance, at leaſt, to its ſucceſs, and on the other hand, I am afraid it may appear, I incurred ſome that were too ſtrong againſt me. But the value of the object, I thought, was more than the danger of the means, or the importance of the inſtruments. And on that ſcale, hazard becomes prudence.

I continued in hopes that a few hours more might poſſibly give us a glimpſe of buſineſs and Candy. In the mean time, Mr. CHERECH and I ſat down in our Pandaul with patience and good appetite to our

laſt chicken and mango-curry. As I expected, ſeven o'clock came before any announcement of our viſitors, and nine before they made their appearance. They then came to the river ſide, with a very numerous and ſplendid train attending the general; a very conſiderable number of their ſepoys, ſome hundreds, but indifferently armed, various muſick and flags, and ſome ſmall ſwivel guns.

We took our ſeats in great form, and after all the uſual tedioufneſs, I found at laſt, with much ſatisfaction, that this general was come from the King to conduct me next morning; but on ſome ſubſequent information I learned that they adhered to their roundabout way of going by the *Columbo* approach, which would induce a further delay of two or three days.

On two other points they were equally tenacious, the old one of the ſepoys, a new one of my horſe, which I brought from *Trincomallée*, which I in vain repreſented, as was much too truly the fact, to be abſolutely neceſſary to my health. I rode twice a day,

a day, and found moſt eſſential benefit from it. But no one is allowed to ride near Candy *. As to the ſepoys, it was ſettled on their poſitive requiſition, with which they were much pleaſed at my compliance, that I ſhould take with me only twelve, with the havildar and naig. Another havildar's guard left at this place, for relief, perhaps, of the Candian guard,—appearance, &c. with the tents, perforce indeed, for there were ſeven or eight invalids who could not march. Mr. CHERECH went with me, and the other half of our party, all effective, returned immediately to the ſervice at *Trincomallée*.

Gunnoor—from *Trincomallée* 167 miles.

MARCH 4th.—We were now arrived at the end of our journey, for though Candy

* Becauſe it is in this country a kingly cuſtom, which no ſubject is permitted to enjoy, except as a ſpecial favour from the King.

was ſtill five miles diſtant, we found at *Gunnoor* * the houſe deſtined for our reſidence, as the place from whence we were to hold all our communication with the court.

It is a large building, conſiſting of a ſquare within a ſquare, and capable of containing five hundred perſons: the walls of clay, as uſual, but ſufficienty ſtrong, and well finiſhed.

The two perſons who had been appointed the night before to take care of us, made an early viſit, not however to me, as I expected, but *to the preſents* which I had brought, and were depoſited in a building for the purpoſe, in the centre of the inner ſquare. With very polite inquiries about my health, &c. they ſent to deſire that I ſhould accompany them. But finding myſelf too weak and fatigued to incur any unneceſſary trouble of ceremony, I begged they would diſpenſe with my attendance,

* Here all the ambaſſadors to Candy, and their ſuites, are accommodated. It is on the high road from *Columbo*, about half a mile from where our bye-road had fallen into it.

and

and accept Mr. CHERECH, who accordingly did the honours on this occaſion.

Soon after, I received a meſſage that two perſons from court were arrived at the river, two or three hundred yards diſtant from our houſe, on a viſit to me, but that it was neceſſary I ſhould go and receive them there on their croſſing it. This being indiſpenſable, notwithſtanding my remonſtrance of the heat, &c. I was glad to compromiſe when we came near the river, and to be excuſed the fatigue of going down a very ſteep and long flight of broken ſteps, that led down to its bank. I waited, therefore, in a pagoda, at the head of them, cloſe to the road; and when my viſitors were aſcended, conducted them with great form to our habitation.

A long *veranda*, extending along one ſide of the inner ſquare, is uſed as the ſcene of conference on theſe occaſions. We ſtopped there, therefore, and my viſitors opened the firſt part of their buſineſs of compliments from his Majeſty, and inquiries about health, our accommodation, &c. When this was over,

I was

I was not leſs ſurprized than pleaſed at their proceeding to real buſineſs ſo ſpeedily, and informing me, that as I had all along expreſſed my deſire for a ſpeedy conſideration of my buſineſs, his Majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to appoint that evening for my firſt audience, and the delivery of my letters.

Nothing could be more acceptable than this diſpoſition, at which I expreſſed my ſatisfaction in the ſtrongeſt terms, and told them I ſhould be ready in every particular, except one; which I confeſſed I had promiſed to comply with, as having been ſtated to me as cuſtomary, of walking to Candy from the other ſide of the river; but that, ſo extremely weak and fatigued as I was, I feared it would be utterly out of my power to walk ſo far, and therefore requeſted the indulgence of a dooley.

But all I could urge to obtain it was in vain: they ſaid it was contrary to cuſtom, and inadmiſſible. And when I argued to them that by ſo rigid an adherence to cuſtom, the moſt important buſineſs might be neglected

neglected or defeated, they answered, there could be nothing more important than the customs of their country, and the respect due to their court*: *that ambassadors who could not walk to Candy, must remain at Gunnoor;* and that one from *Goa*, on behalf of the Portugueze, had actually been detained there, on that account, five or six weeks.

I requested they would represent to the King, my earnest desire to comply with the customs in every particular in my power; urging, at the same time, the necessity of immediately proceeding on the business I was charged with, and though I was absolutely unable to do so that evening, in the manner they required, that I would attempt it next day, however distressing or dangerous to me, if I could not obtain the indulgence I demanded for this evening.

They then produced a letter for me, from *Trincomallé*, with a trifling apology for the

* On the Candy side of the river, the King has the sole privilege of being carried in any manner, horseback or palankeen, and on the other side, from *Nallendy-Caravery*, as has been mentioned, about fifty miles, no one is allowed to travel in a covered dooley.

delay

delay in my receiving it; for it ought to have been given me on the road. I found it was of an old date, from Capt. BONNEVAUX*, full of apprehenſions, not only about our ſucceſs, but for our ſafety; with an account of the hoſtile orders which had been iſſued from Candy, prohibiting, throughout the country, any intercourſe whatſoever with the Engliſh, and denouncing the ſevereſt penalties againſt all thoſe who ſhould diſobey, with injunctions to ſeize and detain any of them who ſhould be found in the country; that, in conſequence, *Trincomallée* was extremely diſtreſſed for ſupplies, all communication with the country being actually cut off.

I inſtantly demanded the attention of my viſitors to this point, in the moſt ſolemn manner, and in the ſtrongeſt terms remonſtrated againſt a meaſure ſo injurious and ungrateful to their friends. The occaſion was ſo important, and the time ſo preſſing, that I thought it neceſſary to anticipate, in ſome meaſure, the buſineſs of my commiſſion. I repreſented to them the object of my

* Commandant at *Trincomallée*.

coming

coming in particular, to eſtabliſh a firm friendſhip, and ſecurity againſt their enemies and oppreſſors; and that our conduct in general, ſince our firſt landing at *Trincomallée*, had been ſtrictly conſiſtent with thoſe friendly principles. This I ſtated to them at large; warning them alſo, ſeriouſly to conſider what fatal conſequences muſt enſue, if that hoſtile idea ſhould be attempted to be enforced, of ſeizing any perſon belonging to the Engliſh; and inſiſting, on the whole, that theſe injurious orders ſhould be inſtantly revoked, and contrary ones iſſued, ſuch as we had a right to expect from the whole of our friendly principles and proceedings.

They freely admitted the propriety of my remonſtrance, and after apologizing for thoſe obnoxious orders, on the ground of miſtake and miſinformation, and having their curioſity ſatisfied as favourably as I could, as to other news in the letter, of the ſtate of *Trincomallée*, and of the fleet, about which they were very inquiſitive, they took leave; promiſing to ſubmit the whole of our conference to the immediate conſideration of his Majeſty.

They

They expected the same ceremonious attendance in going away, as in coming; and it was not without some difficulty that they dispensed with my accompanying them to the river, though I urged to them how necessary it was for me to reserve myself for the approaching operation of my visit to Candy; which I had still some hopes might be this evening, in a dooley, or *to-morrow, at farthest, without one.*

MARCH 5.—But it was not so near as I expected. Though they had promised I should hear early this day, to fix the hour of being waited on in the evening by the general, towards setting out for Candy, the morning passed without any communication, more than a message about health, &c. from our two first inspectors, and a visit from them, as before—to the presents.

I still expected a notification of the time and particulars of our proceeding, till about six o'clock in the evening, their interpreter, the same who had officiated at *Nallendy-Caravery*, came to let me know, with abundance of compliments and inquiries, that his Majesty

Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to receive me *the next evening*. This delay, was, it ſeems, as the interpreter confeſſed afterwards to my debaſh, merely on a point of pride,—not to adopt *my* day, as I had not agreed to *theirs*.

In the mean time our day paſſed unpleaſantly enough, the weather intolerably hot, our place of abode very cloſe and diſagreeable, and proviſions ſcanty and bad. No fruit, eggs not freſh, and fowls very ſcarce.

MARCH 6th.—After their viſit to the preſents, as uſual, our two friends notified to me, this morning, in form, that a general would attend me in the evening, to proceed to Candy. All their political operations, I found, were tranſacted at Candy by night, as I had experienced at *Nallendy-Caravery*.

Between ſix and ſeven in the evening, the general's arrival at the other ſide of the river was announced to me; and that he waited there till I ſhould appear on this ſide to receive him. I accordingly ſet forward, with all our people marſhalled in our beſt array, and

and was now obliged to deſcend the ſteps, in honour of the general. When he ſaw me coming down to the ſide of the river, he ſtepped into a boat that waited for him, and ſome of his principal attendants into another. But the water being then low, though in the rainy ſeaſon it is very deep and rapid, the bulk of his people, ſoldiers, &c. waded over. The profuſion of lights, and the noiſe, (though not very harmonious, it muſt be confeſſed) of their drums and trumpets, and pateraro cannon from the other ſide of the river, with the romantick appearance of its woods and banks, rendered the ſcene upon the whole extremely ſtriking *.

My

* This correſponds, in every material part, with the deſcription given by Mr. KNOX, of the manner in which the court of Candy receives ambaſſadors. "Firſt," ſays he, "the King ſends ſeveral of his great men to meet the "ambaſſadors, with great trains of ſoldiers; the ways "are all cut broad, and the graſs pared away for many "miles; drums and trumpets, pipes and flags going be-"fore them; victuals and all ſorts of varieties are daily "brought to them, and continue to be ſo all the time they "are in the land, and at free coſt. For the cuſtom here "is, ambaſſadors, ſtay they never ſo long, are maintained "at

My new viſitor was a general of the ſecond order*. He was an old man, of the moſt engaging appearance and manners. Not only that ſtrain of courtly politeneſs, which, to my ſurprize I confeſs, I

" at the King's coſt and charges. And being near the " city, have every thing brought for them from the King's " palace. Preſents, goods, or whatſoever they pleaſe " to bring with them, the King prepareth men to " carry. And when they are come to the houſe that is " prepared for them, which is hung round, top and ſides, " with white *calico*, they are kept under a guard, and " great commanders with ſoldiers appointed to attend " on them; which is accounted a great honour †." KNOX *on Ceylon*, p. 36.

* There are four principal § generals, entruſted with the four grand diviſions of the iſland, *Yalcoralay* to the weſtward, including *Columbo: Nalcoralay*, to the ſouthward, including *Point du Gal: Mauthelay*, eaſtward, including *Trincomallée:* and *Tovey*, including *Jaffnapatam*. Under theſe are other ‡generals, who have the care of large ſubdivided diſtricts. Under them, *veraunies*, and ſo on through other ſubordinate officers, the whole ſyſtem managed with perfect regularity, and the moſt prompt obedience.

† *See the Preface to the Journal.*

§ *Theſe generals, or governors of provinces, are called Diſſauwas.*

‡ *The governors of diſtricts, called Roerauts.*

found in great perfection, and univerſal among theſe people, but a friendly openneſs and affability peculiarly diſtinguiſhed this old gentleman.

I conducted him to our quarters, or rather to the quarter where the preſents and letters were lodged, for that was the object of his viſit. After arranging the mode of conveying them, and preparing our ſepoys, pikemen, &c. we ſet out between ſeven and eight o'clock in the evening. I had unlocked the box in which the letters were contained, and delivered them to the old general, who folded them very carefully in muſlin, and then laid them on a large ſilver ſalver, ſpreading a rich piece of gold brocaded ſilk over them, and covering the whole with fine white cloth. He then gave me the ſalver to hold with both my hands above my head, and in that attitude I was to march with it out of our little temple; I then gave it to the perſon appointed to carry it to Candy, and was very glad to get a buſineſs of ſo much weight off my hands, for it was really very heavy; and ſo very weak

weak as I was, even theſe little commencing operations had fatigued me very much. It may eaſily be conceived, therefore, how agreeably ſurprized I was when the old gentleman told me, on our return to the river, that in conſideration of what had been repreſented to the King, he had conſented to diſpenſe even with the ſacredneſs of cuſtom in my favour, and allow me the indulgence of a dooley on the other ſide of the river, to a certain diſtance, about a mile from Candy; but that then being within the immediate precincts of the court, it would be indiſpenſably neceſſary to walk that remaining part of the way.

At that moment hardly any intelligence whatever could have been more acceptable to me, for I was abſolutely in deſpair of accompliſhing the march. But I had reſolved to run every riſk, rather than let the buſineſs ſtand ſtill at that critical ſtage; and in the almoſt certain event of my not being able to walk all the way, I muſt have attempted the expedient, of making ſome of my own people carry me on their ſhoulders. Now, however, without the neceſſity of this

this reſource, which might have been objected to and oppoſed by my conductors, I was enabled to proceed very comfortably, and arrived at the appointed ſtage, where a little place, convenient enough, was prepared for my reception, about nine o'clock. We had paſſed through two or three *caraverys*, or fortified gates, where parties of their military were drawn out with much oſtentation; particularly ſome Malays, who made a tolerable appearance. The old gentleman had marched on before, to notify our approach; and on his return, waited for us at another *caravery* on the top of a ſteep hill, defended by ſome pieces of cannon.

The crowds that thronged round us, gave abundant proof of the population, and the curioſity of the country; and I was much pleaſed with the ſolicitude of the old general to gratify it, by frequent orders to his people to fall back and diſplay our little party, eſpecially the ſepoys, who were very fine fellows, and made a moſt reſpectable appearance. Mr. CHERECH acquitted himſelf on this, as on every occaſion,

caſion, with the moſt ſucceſsful activity and attention.

We ſoon arrived at Candy, which we found of better appearance, and more regularly built, than any Indian town I had yet ſeen. The principal ſtreet through which we marched, is very broad; and though the houſes in general have but one ſtory, they appear to have two, from the number of ſteps running up ſideways and cloſe to the wall of the houſe, ſo that the door is at leaſt the height of a ſtory from the ſtreet. This manner of building, it ſeems, is to avoid the miſchiefs, which the elephant-fights, celebrated in this great ſtreet for his Majeſty's amuſement, would otherwiſe do to their houſes.

After advancing about a quarter of a mile along this ſtreet, we turned round the angle of a conſiderable incloſure with a ſtone wall, which I learned was the royal garden. This was on our left hand, and when we turned the next corner, we ſaw the palace on our right; a large ſtone building, with ſixteen large ſtone ſteps leading up to the entrance, at each ſide of which

was placed a bowman; two huge fellows, fantaſtically dreſſed. At the head of the ſteps ſtood ſome of their officers, natives and malays; and the whole area below, which was very ſpacious and open, was filled with their ſoldiers and elephants, of which there were between forty and fifty drawn up in a ſemicircle, and two very fine white ones in the centre. The old general took frequent opportunities of hinting to me, that there was much greater diſplay, on this occaſion, than had ever been on any other; and was very ſolicitous to know what impreſſion this unuſual magnificence made upon me; of which I acknowledged my ſenſe and admiration in ſtrong terms, and very much to his ſatisfaction.

We halted here ſome time, till further permiſſion ſhould be ſent us from the palace to approach. In the mean time it was notified to me, that none of my people were to be admitted to the audience, but my interpreter. I was very deſirous that Mr. CHERECH and my writer ſhould accompany me; but could not gain permiſſion. They were, however, admitted through the

firſt

firſt gate at the head of the ſtairs, which we now aſcended, and were conducted into a large court.

At the bottom of this court a door opened, through which the miniſter and four generals * advanced to receive me. After ſome ceremonious compliments and inquiries, the miniſter retired to announce our arrival ſo far; but ſoon returning, with final permiſſion for us to advance, he then, (with the generals) conducted me and my interpreter through the door he had come through at firſt, into a very ſpacious inner court, partly covered and partly open, well paved with broad flat ſtone. Along all the ſides of this court were ranged a great number of perſons, officers and attendants as it ſhould ſeem, of the palace. We advanced to the centre of this large area; till facing about to the right, we fronted a very wide and high arch, ſpread acroſs with a white curtain.

* Thoſe who have been mentioned, in a former note, as the principal; except the *Mauthelay* general, who was abſent.

Here were to commence the labours of the ceremony. The ſilver ſalver, with the letters, was brought, and the miniſter gave it to me to hold as before, with my hands above my head. Even to a man in perfect ſtrength, it were an uneaſy attitude to ſupport ſuch a weight ſo long. But to me, at that time, it was a moſt diſtreſſing fatigue. Obſerving this, however, he aſſiſted me, and one of the generals on the other ſide, by putting their hands to it; telling me at the ſame time as another inſtance of attention to my ſituation, that the King had diſpenſed with the cuſtom uſual on theſe occaſions, of the ſhoes being taken off, and that I might keep mine on.

The curtain was now removed, and diſcovered to our view a long hall, almoſt covered with a fine large carpet; the ceiling, divided by arches, that extended from ſide to ſide, large ones in the centre, and two ſmall ones on each ſide. Theſe arches, and two rows of pillars that ſupported them, and formed two ailes, to the right and left, were very prettily adorned with feſtoons of muſlins, &c. of various colours. Within

the

the pillars were ranged the courtiers, ſitting, in their faſhion, on their heels; not with their legs croſſed, as I have ſeen in the Carnatic, but in a more difficult and painful poſture to thoſe not uſed to it, with the knees projecting ſtraight forward. The hall was well lighted by lamps attached to the pillars, and very large wax lights * at the upper end of each aile; near one of which ſat the ſecretary, my old friend of *Nallendy-Caravery*, with his ſecreterial implements, to note what ſhould paſs. The whole terminated in a large alcove, retired within which was a very high throne, and his Majeſty ſeated on it with much ſolemnity. There ſeemed a ſort of ſtudied obſcurity; as if he deſired, though without having ſtudied MILTON, "with the majeſty of darkneſs around" to "cover his throne." He is about thirty-ſix or thirty-ſeven years of age, of a grand majeſtick appearance; a very large man, and very black, but of an open intelligent countenance, as I found after-

* I did not find, on inquiry, that the lights for the royal uſe, are perfumed with the oil of cinnamon, as mentioned by RAYNAL, and others.

wards

wards on a nearer approach. On the whole, his figure and attitude put me much in mind of our HARRY the Eighth. He wore a large crown, which is a very important diſtinction * from the other princes of the Eaſt †.

The removal of the curtain was the ſignal for our obeiſances. Mine, by ſtipulation, was to be only kneeling,—ſtill with the ſalver over my head, which became almoſt intolerably fatiguing. My companions immediately began the performance of theirs, which were in the moſt perfect degree of eaſtern humiliation. They almoſt literally licked the duſt; proſtrating themſelves with their faces cloſe to the ſtone floor, and throwing out their legs and arms, as in the attitude of ſwimming, then riſing to their knees by a

* Among the multitude of his titles, it is a diſtinguiſhing one, "The King who wears a crown." In one of our conferences, ſome of the generals aſked me "whether the King of England wore a crown?"

† The whole of this deſcription pretty nearly accords with the account given by BALDÆUS, of the reception of the Dutch general GERARD HULST, in the year 1656, in the reign of *Rajah Singah*, King of Candy §.

§ *See* BALDÆUS's *Hiſtory of Ceylon*.

ſudden

ſudden ſpring from the breaſt, like what is called the ſalmon-leap by tumblers, they repeated, in a very loud voice, a certain form of words, of the moſt extravagant meaning that can be conceived, "That the "head of the king of kings* might reach "beyond the ſun! that he might live a "hundred thouſand years," &c. He anſwered very gravely, that we might advance, which we accordingly did, much to my ſatisfaction, but not till the aforeſaid concert had been repeated half a dozen times.

On our entry into the hall, by the aſcent of two or three high ſteps, we had it all to do and to ſuffer over again, they repeating their extraordinary obeiſances ſix times, and I kneeling:—and then a third time, when we arrived at the carpet, which reached within about ten yards of the door. Theſe three acts being over, I was conducted up the centre of the hall to the throne, by the miniſter on one ſide, and a general on the other; I then knelt on the loweſt ſtep, ſtill ſupporting my burthen, but with infinite

* One of the titles of the King of Candy.

difficulty

difficulty, in the ſame irkſome poſture. I was now relieved from it by his Majeſty's taking the letters, and had an opportunity of obſerving his figure as I have deſcribed it, and his dreſs, which was more magnificent than I expected: but ſurpriſingly warm for the climate of Candy. But the temperature of courts, I am afraid, is the ſame in all parts of the world; "where cumbrous pomp and vanity preſide!"

It not being the cuſtom at this court to read letters at the time they are preſented, the King laid them aſide, and I retired in the ſame manner between my two conductors, keeping my face towards the throne. We found the other generals at the end of the carpet, where they ſat down, in their manner; but told me, I might ſtretch out my legs, provided I kept them as much on one ſide, and out of ſight, as poſſible. I was ſeated in the middle, two generals on each ſide of me, and the interpreters a little behind us. Then began our converſation, which, as I apprehended, was only form; but there being no leſs than five ſtages betwixt his Majeſty and me, it was incredibly tedious.

He

He ſpoke to his miniſter, who knelt at the upper end of the hall, near the throne;—the miniſter to one of the generals;—the general to their interpreter;—their interpreter to mine in Malabar;—and mine to me in Engliſh: and my anſwers, of courſe, had the ſame journey to travel back again.

He began with inquiring when I had left Madras, and in what capacity? When I anſwered him, that I had the honour of being inveſted with the office of bringing letters to his Highneſs, and of treating with him on the moſt friendly grounds on behalf of the Madras government, he expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at this teſtimony of friendly diſpoſition in the Governor of Madras. He then aſked particularly about his health,—then of the Members of the Council,—of the Admiral and Gentlemen of the fleet, &c.—When he inquired about my own, and the fatigues of my journey, I took the opportunity, of attempting at leaſt, to turn the diſcourſe to buſineſs, and told him, that I certainly had been extremely fatigued, and much indiſpoſed in health, but that I had advanced, notwithſtanding, with the utmoſt expedition;

expedition; the buſineſs I was charged with being of the moſt urgent nature, and moſt critically circumſtanced as to time, and that I therefore hoped we might proceed on it immediately.

I ſuſpect that the latter part of what I ſaid, loſt ſomething in the *Cingaleſe* channels it paſſed through. For his Highneſs, without taking the leaſt notice of it, proceeded to aſk me, whether I wiſhed to retire, or had any thing further to mention to him?

I anſwered, that I had much to ſtate to him and to diſcuſs, repeating the neceſſity of proceeding immediately; and was going on to repreſent, in the firſt place, the ſubject I had diſcuſſed before with ſome of the courtiers at *Gunnoor*, of the hoſtile orders which had been iſſued againſt any communication with the Engliſh: but the general * on my right hand ſtopped me, telling me that the King expected I ſhould now retire; but that he and the other generals would adjourn with

* He was the governor of *Halcoralay* diſtrict, including *Columbo*, &c. ſee former note.—This they eſteem the moſt important command; and the general who holds it uſually ſucceeds to the poſt of prime miniſter.

me

me immediately to another place, and there hear whatever I had to propoſe.

I would rather have continued in the direct line to his Majeſty; but ſeeing that a hint of his pleaſure was to be law, and conſidering too, that what I had to urge would come with greater propriety and effect after the letter was read, I accepted the neceſſity of retiring, with the beſt grace I could. We all got up accordingly, and retired as we had advanced, I kneeling, and they tumbling as before*: and when we had performed our three acts again, the curtain dropped.

According to the promiſe of conference, the miniſter and generals then conducted

* This, performed in the manner I have deſcribed, one would imagine as abject an inſtance of humiliation as could be given. But during the audience, one occurred, which ſurprized me ſtill more. Something happened, that made it neceſſary for the miniſter to come to the lower end of the hall. I did not obſerve him ſet out; but turning my head by accident, I cannot expreſs my ſurprize when I ſaw him, a venerable grey-headed old man, come trotting down one of the ailes like a dog!—on all-fours! He returned in the ſame manner to the foot of the throne.

me

me acroſs the firſt court we had come through, upon a high flight of ſtairs, to a very low gallery. Here they left me, promiſing to return ſoon. I had deſired that Mr. CHERECH might come in the mean time, and he and I ſat down at the upper end of our long room on a bench prepared, to the collation which was brought us, in ſeparate trays, of fruit, ſweetmeats, ſpices, &c. and ſome bread, but very ill baked, and coarſe and heavy. There were alſo ſeparate rations for MOSS, my writer, and my interpreter, PERMAUL.

Almoſt an hour elapſed before my miniſterial friends returned.—We then proceeded to our conference, ſtanding, as is indiſpenſable, on any buſineſs of the King.

I began with calling their attention to the univerſal character and conduct of the Engliſh in India; and according to the inſtructions I had received, endeavoured to impreſs them in the moſt forcible manner in my power, with a conviction of our unſhaken firmneſs and fidelity to our allies. Having obtained their aſſent to this repreſentation, I urged to the miniſter that we ſhould proceed immediately

immediately to buſineſs. He aſked me what particular propoſals I had to make? I told him, that it was neceſſary, in the firſt inſtance, to accept and eſtabliſh on the part of the King, the general ground of friendſhip and alliance, which had been propoſed by the Governor of Madras. For that, and ſome particulars alſo, I referred him to the letter I had brought; and that when I underſtood his Highneſs's acceptance and aſſent, I would inſtantly go upon every particular that ſhould be neceſſary. He replied, that the letter had not yet been read; (a political fib, certainly, of the old gentleman, which I could not but conſtrue as a bad omen; for it muſt have been read and conſidered in that long interval during which he had left me) but that it ſhould immediately, and not a moment be loſt: that ſome of the generals ſhould attend me in two or three days at fartheſt, to diſcuſs any points that might ariſe, and that I might depend on another audience immediately after.

From the whole complexion of affairs, I had a preſentiment not the moſt favourable, which made me the more deſirous for preci-

ſion. I told him, that as we had expreſsly adjourned to this conference, I concluded he had been inveſted with powers of conferring to ſome effect; but that as it appeared he had not read the letter, I would ſtate the principal points of it to him, for his more clear conception of the buſineſs. That it propoſed a treaty of firm friendſhip and alliance between his Highneſs of Candy, and the Engliſh in India;—that it promiſed the moſt effectual aſſiſtance that the Engliſh could contribute to vindicate the rights of his Highneſs againſt the uſurpations of the Dutch, and to protect them in future againſt them and all other enemies;—that it required a liberal ſupply of proviſions and every friendly intercourſe from the country to the Engliſh at *Trincomallée*, or elſewhere;—and that it referred his Highneſs to me, for the explanation and arrangement of all matters tending to the mutual and juſt intereſts of both parties.

I repeated to him in particular, as I had done to my viſitors at *Gunnoor*, the neceſſity of inſtantly repealing the orders which had been iſſued againſt communication with the Engliſh;

Engliſh; as it was a preliminary, without which, I could not proceed in my negociation. After giving me a ſolemn promiſe to that effect, and his repeated aſſurance alſo that no time ſhould be loſt, but that I ſhould have another audience as ſoon as poſſible, and for that purpoſe, that ſome of the generals ſhould attend me in the mean time, he concluded with telling me, I might depend alſo on the point being complied with, which I had inſiſted on at *Gunnoor*, relative to the ſepoys left at *Nallendy-Caravery;* and that orders ſhould be immediately ſent to ſecure them proviſions and accommodations for their march to *Trincomallée*.

It was by this time near two o'clock: and having aſcertained matters as particularly as the policy of the old miniſter would permit, I was glad to take my leave of him. The courtier, who had accompanied the old ſecretary to *Nallendy-Caravery*, was appointed to conduct me back to *Gunnoor*, where we arrived before four in the morning, in the ſame manner we had left it; and notwithſtanding my extreme fatigue and weakneſs, with

with the ſame neceſſity of walking the mile and a half I had before done, within the hallowed precinct of Candy.

Gunnoor.

MARCH 7th.—A viſit this morning from my two neighbours, to inquire about health, &c. of which I could give them but a very infirm account. I remonſtrated about the neglect of proviſions, which were very ſcanty. They promiſed to ſupply us better.

I was very glad to ſee the interpreter arrive this evening; (our acquaintance, I mean, of *Nallendy-Caravery:* laſt night it was another that officiated:) I deſired PERMAUL to improve acquaintance with him as much as poſſible, and cultivate the friendly diſpoſition he ſeemed deſirous to ſhew us. He gave a very favourable account of the audience; and undertook the management of

of a ſubject PERMAUL and I had been juſt diſcuſſing:—the preſenting to the miniſters and generals a few pieces of gold and ſilver muſlin, I had procured on the coaſt for the purpoſe, having heard they were very fond of dreſs both for themſelves and their women. He ſaid it was neceſſary firſt to obtain their permiſſion, and that he would let me know to-morrow, with ſpeed, the particulars, as I preſſed him, towards the promiſed viſit from the generals.

Gunnoor.

MARCH 8th.—The interpreter returned early according to promiſe, with a polite and thankful anſwer from the miniſter, on the ſubject of the preſents intended him and the generals; but declining them, as being immediately on the King's buſineſs, on which it is abſolutely prohibited to receive any thing; and obſerving, that it was incumbent

on them to give preſents to me, rather than take them from me: but on the whole it ſeemed to have a good effect.

On the important ſubject of proceeding on buſineſs, he told me the court was perfectly diſpoſed to the ſpeedieſt diſpatch; and that he was ſure I ſhould only be detained a few days more for my next audience, and that the generals would come to-morrow. This was very ſatisfactory, and I enjoyed my evening's walk the more agreeably, though I was able to take only a very ſhort one. The country is extremely beautiful and various, and well cultivated.

MARCH 9th.—In the morning about ten o'clock I received intelligence, that the deputation from court was arrived at the other ſide of the river, and that I was expected on my ſide to receive them. It was exceedingly hot, but I knew the neceſſity of their forms, and proceeded accordingly. They excuſed me, however, from going down the ſteep broken ſteps to the river ſide. I received, at the pagoda, on the brow of the hill, the three principal generals, and the old ſecre-

tary, and conducted them to our great veranda of conference.

I perceived from the respectability of this deputation, and the writing apparatus that the interpreter brought with him, that this was to be a visit of some consequence. The people who thronged about the veranda, were accordingly ordered to a distance; and after the usual inquiries and compliments, we took our seats in great form.

I told them, I was extremely happy to find their sentiments coincide with my own towards expediting the important business I was charged with; that being, I concluded, the object of their present visit, in pursuance of the assurances I had received from them and the minister. That the revocation which had been promised, of the hostile orders against the English, being an essential preliminary, I desired to know whether it had been issued?

The principal general assured me it had: but there was something in his manner and the looks of the others which gave me some suspicion.—I asked, when? and what other orders had been sent? (for they promised

me to ſend permiſſion for the ſupply of *Trincomallée*, and that all letters from thence ſhould be forwarded to me without farther interruption; and that my people, MAHOMMED COSSIM, SOLYMAN, and a few others, and my horſe, might be permitted to come on from *Nallendy-Caravery;* and that the ſepoys intended to return, ſhould be immediately diſpatched from thence with proviſions.) The heſitation in his anſwer, as to the time and theſe particulars, confirmed my ſuſpicion; however, I thought proper to diſſemble then, and to ſeem ſatisfied, believing that the delay proceeded from their uſual ſlowneſs, and their falſehood from their being aſhamed of it *.

As I now hoped they would proceed on the letter I had brought, I was going on to the explanation of the moſt important points, when the general told me they had not yet any inſtructions to enter on thoſe particulars, and deſired I would explain to

* So I found afterwards, in effect; and that the requiſite orders were ſent next morning, in conſequence of the ſtrong manner in which I then inquired into the ſubject.

them

them on what principle the Engliſh thought themſelves juſtifiable in making war on the Dutch, who had always been ſuch good friends to them, eſpecially in attacking them in this country, without any notice of hoſtilities, and without any communication with the King.

I expreſſed my ſurprize at their not having powers to enter on the contents of the letter, as had been promiſed; but from their manner of putting the queſtions, and ſome intelligence I had obtained a day or two before, of the Dutch ambaſſador having effected a communication with the court, from his halting place on the road, where he ſtill remained, waiting my departure, I apprehended ſome new obſtacle might have ariſen. I determined, therefore, to ſatisfy them in the moſt complying manner poſſible.

This I had the good fortune to do pretty ſucceſsfully, by explaining the origin of the war, commenced, in fact, by our *good friends* the Dutch, againſt the King of England, aſſiſting his ſubjects who had taken up arms againſt him. This particular, as the moſt

moſt atrocious in their eyes, I ſtated in the ſtrongeſt terms I could, and the ingratitude of the Dutch for all the obligations and ſupport they had always received from England.

Their curioſity on this ſubject was very inquiſitive, eſpecially about America, which they had never heard of. I gave them all the particulars I thought neceſſary towards making the moſt favourable impreſſion; and was glad that every thing was taken down in writing, that the King might have the more certain opportunity of ſeeing and conſidering it diſtinctly.

Their curioſity being alſo ſatisfied as to the power of England, and the juſtice alſo of her war with France on the ſame principle, they aſked many queſtions about the French power and government. They knew, alſo, of our war with Spain; and naturally enough inſinuated, that it appeared we were rather too fond of war, having ſo many hoſtilities on our hands at once. But they admitted, as I ſtated to them, that it was more a proof of our being ſtrong, than wrong; and that our enemies, united

united as they were, were yet inferior to the power they envied, even with the aſſiſtance of the Americans whom they contributed to ſeduce: that we had deſtroyed the navy of France laſt war: that our London (for they were very inquiſitive about our *great cities*) was much more flouriſhing and rich in trade, &c. than their capital, Paris: with many minute particulars that they inquired about.

Their civility travelled all over Europe; particularly to Portugal, which they were ſurpriſed they now heard nothing of. Portugal put them in mind of religion; and they returned to England, to hope that the ſame religion was not profeſſed there as among the Portugueze. I ſatisfied them on this head, that the Engliſh church was the mildeſt and moſt tolerant in Europe.

After ſome general anſwers as to the powers there, for they were much pleaſed with information as to all *, we concluded this

* And as to the ſtate of politicks on the coaſt alſo. The Rajah of Tanjore ſtands pretty well with them; but the Nabob is by no means a favourite, except with the Choliar

this long *political* conference at near four o'clock.

They very politely diſpenſed with my re-attending them to the river; and promiſed to expedite my next audience, for proceeding on buſineſs, as ſpeedily as poſſible.

Gunnoor.

MARCH 10, 11, 12, 13th.—Four days paſſed without any thing remarkable. Conſtant inquiries about us from court; and viſits now and then from our friend the interpreter, which I encouraged as much as I could, to obtain all poſſible information from him. He was of the race of *Vaddahs* *, as

Choliar tribe, who are Mahommedans; and equally, on that account, perhaps, out of favour at court. They ſpoke of the Nabob's ambition, invading Tanjore, &c.

* "This race of people," ſays Mr. KNOX, "are called "*Vaddahs*, dwelling in the woods, near no other inhabitants,

as he pronounced it, who are called *Bedas*, in ſome deſcriptions of this iſland: a people towards

" tants. They ſpeak the *Cingaleſe* language. They kill " deer, and dry the fleſh over the fire, and the people of " the country come and buy it of them. They never till " any ground for corn, their food being only fleſh. They " are very expert with their bows. They have a little ax, " which they ſtick in by their ſides, to cut honey out of " hollow trees. Some few of them have commerce with " the *Cingaleſe*. They have no towns, nor houſes, only " live by the waters under a tree, with ſome boughs " cut and laid round about them, to give notice when " any wild beaſts come near, which they may hear by " their ruſtling and trampling upon them. Some of the " more civilized of theſe people are under a kind of ſub- " jection to the King.

" They never cut their hair, but tie it up on their " crowns in a bunch. The cloth they uſe, is not broad " nor large, ſcarcely enough to cover their buttocks.

" The *wilder* and *tamer* ſort of them do both obſerve a " religion. They have a God peculiar to themſelves. " The *tamer* do build temples, the *wild* only bring their " ſacrifices under trees; and while it is offering, dance " round it, both men and women.

" For portions with their daughters in marriage, they " give hunting-dogs. They are reported to be courteous. " Some of the *Cingaleſe*, in diſcontent, will leave their " houſes and friends, and go and live among them, where " they are civilly entertained. The *tamer* ſort of them, " as hath been ſaid, will ſometimes appear, and hold trade

" with

towards the north and north-eaſt of it, differing in ſome religious cuſtoms and dreſs from the *Cingaleſe*, but ſpeaking the ſame language; leſs civilized, he confeſſed, but more open and ſincere, he aſſerted, perhaps in aid of his own veracity, and braver: independent, but in general on good terms with the government. From living in the neighbourhood of *Trincomallée*, he acquired the *Malabar* language perfectly, and ſo became recommended as one of the interpreters at Candy, where I underſtood he was a favourite.

He told me, that though the politicks of Candy be ſtill rather unfavourable to the Dutch, they are not ſo much ſo as before the late King's death, (about three weeks before I went up). Since that event, ſome of thoſe whom the Dutch had formerly been able to gain, had attempted ſome intrigues in their favour, to which the death of the late miniſter had unfortunately afforded ſome facility and ſucceſs: that the preſent King,

" with the *Cingaleſe;* but the *wilder* ſort, called *Ramba* " *Vaddahs*, never ſhew themſelves." KNOX *on Ceylon*, p. 62.

above

above twenty years younger than his late brother, had not been in particular favour or harmony with him: and as to the Engliſh, that never having had any perſonal opportunity of intercourſe, he had been the more liable to be miſled and prepoſſeſſed againſt them, eſpecially at the commencement of his reign; and though his power appeared perfectly deſpotick, and when exerted, was ſo in fact, yet from the mode of conducting every political buſineſs, through ſo many channels, and from the great delegated power of the generals throughout their diſtricts, they had great authority and influence. That unfortunately for us, the principal of them (of *Yalcoralay*) had been one of thoſe inclined to the Dutch; that to theſe cauſes, and the groſs miſrepreſentations made of our conduct and deſigns, were to be imputed the obſtacles we had encountered; which, however, were now entirely at an end; for that, from our conduct ſince we came into the country, and the explanations we had given them both at *Nallendy-Caravery*, and here, the King himſelf, (whom they reckon a more able and enterpriſing

priſing man than his late brother) and thoſe about him, were perfectly undeceived and ſatisfied in our favour.

This intelligence was the more ſatisfactory, and the leſs to be ſuſpected of artifice, as it ſeemed by no means premeditated, but was rather extracted in accidental converſations from our friend the interpreter.

I was, however, much ſurprized at the delay of my ſecond audience; till on the 13th I received an anſwer from the miniſter relative to that and ſome ſecondary matters on which I had applied to him. The important point of my going again to Candy, he ſent me word, was fixed for the next day; but as to other particulars I had requeſted, of my horſe being ſent to me from *Nallendy-Caravery*, MAHOMMED, and others who were there, to be permitted to come on to me, my letters to be forwarded, and the ſepoys, who I found were yet detained at *Nallendy-Caravery*, to be diſpatched from thence with proviſions as promiſed, to *Trincomallée*; as to theſe particulars he gave me to underſtand, that the ſpeedy concluſion of my buſineſs at Candy, would render them

them unneceſſary.—He accompanied his meſſage with a very welcome preſent of ſome large pieces of wild boar and elk, the latter eſpecially was remarkably good; very like beef, but of a ſtill finer grain and flavour.

Gunnoor to *Candy*.

MARCH 14th.—About ſeven o'clock in the evening, the arrival of the general who was to conduct me, was announced. I advanced, as uſual, to the river, where he waited on the oppoſite ſide till he ſaw me approach, and then croſſed, with a very numerous train of firelocks, lights, muſick, &c. the rains that continued, ſwelled the river, and the boating backwards and forwards was very tedious. I was glad to find it was my old acquaintance, who had been ſent to eſcort me from *Nallendy*. After the troubleſome ceremony of conducting him to my quarters, we returned, and proceeded towards

towards the capital in the ſame order and pomp as on the former occaſion: the ſame indulgence of a dooley being permitted to me to the ſame diſtance, within a mile or a little more of Candy. I was obliged to wait above an hour at the houſe prepared for me there, before notice was ſent to us to advance. Walking was very diſagreeable, from the heavineſs of the rain, and ſoftneſs of the ground. The general was poſted to receive us at the *caravery*, on the ſteep riſing ground, a few hundred yards from where we had ſtopped; and we proceeded with the ſame pomp as before, and notwithſtanding the rain, prodigious multitudes of people aſſembled to ſee us.

When we came before the palace, where elephants were drawn up as before, the general ſent to notify our arrival, and to obtain permiſſion, on my requeſt, for Mr. CHERECH to ſee his Highneſs. (This was granted, and for my debaſh alſo, but not to come into the *ſanctum ſanctorum* of audience. After the buſineſs was over, they were admitted to the large outer court; and the curtain being drawn up, to make their

their obeiſances at a moſt reſpectful diſtance from his Majeſty, whom they could hardly ſee.)

I was received, as before, by the miniſter and four generals; and after an exact repetition of the former fatiguing ceremonies, was at laſt admitted into the hall of audience, and ſeated on the diſtant end of the carpet, the generals on each ſide of me, with our friend the interpreter, who, I was glad to find, was to officiate on this occaſion, and the miniſter on both his knees at the foot of the throne.

The ceremonious queſtions of health, &c. being finiſhed, his Majeſty began buſineſs with telling me, that the letter of the Governor of Madras had given him the greateſt ſatisfaction; that he had conſidered it with equal pleaſure and attention, and agreed intirely with all the ſentiments contained in it; that he had expreſſed himſelf fully in the anſwer which was prepared to it, but deſired beſides, that I would have it from his own mouth, and communicate to the Governor and Council of Madras, in the ſtrongeſt manner, his friendly diſpoſition towards

towards the Engliſh,—his happineſs in the overtures now made to him, with ſome compliments to the manner our buſineſs had been conducted in,—and his wiſhes to cultivate the moſt friendly correſpondence. He ſaid, in concluſion, that the anſwer to the Governor's letter, and preſents for him, would be ſent on to *Allwalay*, where they would meet me, and recommend them to my care very particularly.

I aſſured him, as ſtrongly as I could, of the mutual ſatisfaction the Governor and Council of Madras would feel from the friendly diſpoſition of his Highneſs; that they were ready to teſtify theirs by every proof in their power, according to the ſincerity and good faith always obſerved by the Engliſh in their negociations; that it was for that purpoſe I had the honour of coming on their part to his Highneſs; that as he had ſo ſtrongly expreſſed his entire agreement with the ſentiments of the letter I had brought, I hoped we ſhould immediately proceed to eſtabliſh the firſt ground propoſed therein, a firm union between his Highneſs and the Engliſh, and immediately

ately act in concert. He answered, that he possessed those sentiments as strongly as possible, and that he was equally convinced of the sentiments of the English; that they were expressed fully on his part in the letter, which, with the presents, should meet me at *Allwalay*. That as I had expressed so much desire for expedition, he had used every possible dispatch in preparing them; that now therefore there would be no further delay, and that orders were issued for proper accommodations and attendance on my return.

I thanked him for his attention; but was sorry to find my apprehension verified of the business being suspended at this stage. Wishing, therefore, if possible, to procure further conference, in order to something more explicit and essential, I observed, that the expedition I had been so anxious for, was to proceed on our business, to form a strict union and friendship with his Highness, and to act together against his enemies and ours, according to the letter I had the honour of bringing him; that the English were ready to assist and act with him; and as he agreed

intirely with the contents of the letter, would expect his assistance and co-operation with them.

The generals here told me, as at the former audience, that as to the discussion of particulars, they and the minister would confer with me after the audience; but that as his Highness had said there was to be now no further delay, it was proper to retire; and they gave directions for the presents intended for me to be brought in.

Finding that a hint from the throne was a sentence without appeal, I was obliged to compromise for the subordinate conference they promised me: on the subject of presents, however, as the King had twice recommended to me in a very particular manner, those for the Governor, I thought it necessary to explain to him what I knew to be the Governor's sentiments.

It would not be easy to conceive the surprise of the Candy courtiers, at hearing of presents being declined. Distinctions between duty and interest were as new to their imaginations as their practice, and it was in vain to urge to his Majesty, that as they had

had their cuſtoms and laws, ſo we had ours; that Governors of Engliſh ſettlements had appointments by law, adequate to their high rank; that as it was their duty, ſo it was the determined reſolution of the Governor of Madras, to decline all additional emoluments, either by preſent or otherwiſe; to be biaſſed by no perſonal conſideration of intereſt, and to direct the whole attention of government to the advantage of their country and their allies.

He anſwered, it was their cuſtom both to receive and to give preſents: that as he had received thoſe I had brought, he expected the Governor of Madras would receive his:—otherwiſe he would be under the neceſſity of returning thoſe the Governor had ſent him. This, I knew, would be a dangerous wound to the friendſhip of our intercourſe; and was not ſorry, therefore, when the generals prevented my reply by telling me, we might diſcuſs that point, with the others, preſently.

The preſents for me were then brought in, and given to me in great form as I ſat on the floor. The miniſter, after coming

down on all-fours from the throne, put a gold chain on my neck, of Candy workmanſhip, as were all the reſt, and very tolerable; a large ſword, with ſilver wrought in the handle, and very heavy; a knife, and very large ſciſſars of curious form; chunam-boxes of ſilver, and ſome little trinkets; and a ring, which he put on my finger,—a large green ſtone, but of little value; with a piece of ſilk, and two of white cloth.

Theſe ceremonies finiſhed, the King told me he would detain me no longer than by ſome queſtions relative to myſelf,—where I was born?—how old I was?—what was my rank?—was I married?—had I children?—&c. My anſwers to theſe important particulars being entered on their records, by the ſecretaries, with as much formality as if they were to decide the fate of Aſia, I took my leave in the uſual fatiguing forms, repeated twice in the great hall, and then in the outer court, of bowing, kneeling, ſalmoning, &c.

I was then conducted by one of the generals, to the long and high gallery where I had been before, at the lower end of the firſt court, where a collation of ſweetmeats, ſpices,

ſpices, &c. was provided as before. At laſt, after a very tedious hour of waiting, the miniſter, the four generals *, and interpreter arrived.

The miniſter began with explaining the particulars of the letter I was to take, in anſwer to the one I had brought. He told me, as the King had expreſſed, that it contained the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the friendly diſpoſition of his Majeſty towards the Engliſh; that it expreſſed his anxious deſire to eſtabliſh a connection and alliance, as propoſed by the government of Madras;—but that to make the alliance ſufficiently firm, and ſufficiently reſpectable for him to accede to, it would be neceſſary to procure to it the ſanction of the King of England,

* It was remarkable, that the general of the *Mauthela* diſtrict, with whom I had ſo much intercourſe at firſt by meſſage, and expected to have met as I advanced, never made his appearance when I was at court, nor at any of the conferences. As well as I could collect by inquiry, I found there was a jealouſy and rivalſhip between him and the others,—probably for the poſt of prime miniſter, for the preſent old man was only *locum tenens*. The abſence of the *Mauthela* general was a loſs to us, for he was much a friend to the Engliſh.

—ſig-

—ſignified *under his own hand;* when that ſhould arrive, that the King of Candy would agree to every propoſition that could be made for the ſtricteſt union and co-operation with the Engliſh arms and intereſts;—and that in the mean time they might depend on his favourable diſpoſition, and friendly ſervices.

The meaſure was taken, the letter written, and the buſineſs evidently concluded. It was neceſſary, however, to rectify their judgment on this point, on which the delay was founded, as well as to aſcertain the friendly ground we had made.

I expreſſed accordingly, the greateſt ſatisfaction at the friendly ſentiments of his Highneſs; and explained how unneceſſary and prejudicial to our mutual intereſts might be their delay, in ſuppoſing the immediate ſanction of the King of England neceſſary to the alliance propoſed; that the government of Madras was completely competent to conclude it, and equally ready and able to act inſtantly in conſequence towards carrying into execution all points that ſhould be agreed on. For the good faith alſo of our

govern-

ments, as well as full power to form and ſupport alliances, I appealed to the known character and conduct of the Engliſh in India. I could not avoid expreſſing, therefore, my ſurprize at this unprecedented delay, in a criſis that required the utmoſt diſpatch:—ſuppoſing, however, that it aroſe merely from inattention and miſtake, now that I had explained the ſubject to them, I hoped the idea would be withdrawn, and that a treaty of alliance, and the moſt vigorous meaſures in conſequence, might be proceeded upon, with as little delay as poſſible, according to the mutual friendly diſpoſitions of his Highneſs and the government of Madras.

They ſeemed to be ſomewhat ſtruck with this remonſtrance, and ſaid they would go and report it to his Highneſs, and return to me immediately.

They did ſo in about half an hour: the miniſter then began a long harangue. He detailed the particulars of Mr. PYBUS's negociation with them above twenty years ago, and complained of its having had no conſequence in their favour; that the govern-

ment

ment of Madras had at that time deputed that gentleman with offers of friendſhip, which had been anſwered by them in a friendly manner;—but that on his return to Madras, the buſineſs, inſtead of being proceeded on effectually as they expected, ſeemed to have been entirely dropped, and from that time to this they had never heard a ſyllable on the ſubject; that this departure from a negociation ſo friendly begun, had ſurprized and diſappointed them very much, eſpecially as they had then particular reaſon to turn their attention to it, being on the eve of a rupture with the Dutch;—that when that rupture took place, they were obliged to ſupport it themſelves, without any aſſiſtance, or even communication, from Madras; but that now, when a rupture had happened *between the Dutch and us*, the communication was renewed! That theſe circumſtances could not but induce them to think, that our attention to their intereſt was governed only by adherence to our own.—That, however, the King was extremely happy in the friendly offers I had brought, and the aſſurances I had given him; that he

he desired again that I would represent his friendly sentiments in the strongest terms at Madras; but as to concluding an actual treaty, he must adhere to what was required in the letter, that the proposal should come to him from the King of England himself.

This representation the minister spun out to great length; especially his animadversions on the total neglect, and their disappointment in consequence, of what they had been induced to expect, from Mr. PYBUS's mission. Finding that to be the stumbling-block, and the only one, (for the other points of fear or suspicion of our intentions, which had impeded us at first, were now intirely removed) I reminded him of the distinction * themselves had made to me at *Nallendy-Caravery*, between that expedition and mine, which I still farther explained to him, my powers being publick, and the object of my embassy explicitly

* The old secretary, who was sent to meet me there, had argued relative to some *tedious* honours which they insisted on shewing, that my mission was in a very different style from that of the former, which he said had been only a stolen and wandering sort of business.

defined;

defined; relating, as ſtrongly as I could, the complete competency of the governments in India, according to their acknowledged powers and univerſal uſage. This point I endeavoured to enforce as fully as poſſible, to weaken the ſame argument of delay that might be urged on any ſimilar occaſion. For the preſent, their party was taken,—to inſiſt on the royal ſanction of England.

The miniſter then, in explaining more fully than at the durbar the anſwer prepared to the Governor of Madras (profeſſions of friendſhip, and deſire to cultivate correſpondence) told me, there was one particular relative to that letter, which it was neceſſary to adverti ſe me of; that it was written not by the King, but by him the miniſter; that this was the cuſtom of their court in all their correſpondence, and that theſe cuſtoms were inviolable.

On my expreſſing my ſurprize at this very ſingular cuſtom and claim, ſo different from the uſage of the greateſt powers in India, in tranſactions with the Engliſh governments, and ſignifying that I ſhould have wiſhed to have had that particular commu-

nicated to me ſooner, reſpecting their cuſtoms, as I did, that I might have had opportunity of examining and conſidering this extraordinary one.

He ſaid, it had always been ſacredly obſerved in their tranſactions, both with the powers of India and Europe. Here he enumerated an amazing long liſt of courts, which he ſaid had all commenced negociation, by applying to the King of Candy for his friendſhip; which applications had been anſwered on the part of the King, by his miniſters. In particular, he inſtanced a French ambaſſador, laſt century, who talking highly of the dignity of his King, had refuſed at firſt to accept of the miniſter's anſwer, but at laſt found it neceſſary in compliance with their cuſtoms: however, ſuch was the reſpect of his King for the Engliſh nation, that when he ſhould receive a letter from the King of England, he would wave the venerable privilege hitherto maintained by the Majeſty of Candy, and anſwer it himſelf.

After the preſents intended for the Governor of Madras, which, with the letter, were

were to meet me at *Allwalay*, on my return, I explained fully the Governor's ſentiments on that ſubject, and had the good fortune of enforcing approbation from a hackneyed black politician (and he was really a very acute old man) of ſentiments and conduct ſo correct. Underſtanding, however, that the preſents were of very ſmall value, and that the refuſal of them would be of great miſchief, I told him at laſt, very much to his ſatisfaction, that the preſents appearing from his explanation not to be of conſiderable value, and the acceptance of them, therefore, not contrary to the true ſpirit of our laws and duty, the Governor would be happy to receive them merely as marks of friendſhip from the King; and to teſtify in every inſtance that his duty would permit, his inclination to cultivate and improve the moſt friendly correſpondence.

MARCH 15th.—It was now growing very late, or rather very far advanced into the morning, and the old miniſter grew extremely anxious to conclude before it ſhould become too light for the accuſtomed obſcurity

rity of Candy. Deſirous, however, on my part, to leave the moſt effectual impreſſion in this our laſt conference, relative to the important and immediate point of ſupply of our troops at *Trincomallée*, and fleet when it ſhould arrive, I recalled his attention to that ſubject; and urged it with all the ſolemnity and force in my power, not only for the preſent, but a conſtant and regular ſupply; as the abſolutely eſſential proof of that friendly diſpoſition which his Highneſs had expreſſed in terms ſo favourable, and which it would be equally the happineſs of the Engliſh to cultivate and ſupport on the firmeſt principles of union.

He anſwered, with the fulleſt aſſurances on this, and every friendly point in their power;—and told me, that a viſit from ſome of the courtiers was intended me at *Gunnoor*, to recapitulate any points that might not have been ſufficiently explained, and to arrange particulars for my return. This long conference was at laſt concluded, to my infinite ſatisfaction, for weak as I was, I was almoſt intolerably fatigued with ſtanding ſo long: I was obliged, however, to walk as

uſual

uſual to the old place of halt, under care of one of the courtiers appointed to attend me to *Gunnoor*, where we arrived about five o'clock in the morning.

Gunnoor.

MARCH 16th.—Having thus aſcertained matters as fully and favourably as circumſtances would admit, I was happy to find my friends at Candy as much diſpoſed as myſelf to expedite my return.

For that purpoſe, and to talk over matters in general, the old ſecretary and another courtier, came according to promiſe this evening to *Gunnoor*. This our final conference was in as favourable a train as could be wiſhed, with the fulleſt aſſurances of every friendly correſpondence. It concluded with their producing the preſents intended for the Governor of Madras, in order to ſatisfy me on that ſubject, that they were

by

by no means conſiderable enough in point of value to be looked on in any other light than merely as marks of friendſhip and compliment *. It was then arranged that we ſhould ſet out on the 17th. The old ſecretary, his companion, and the interpreter, being to conduct me as far as *Nallendy-Caravery*. The letter and preſents ſtill were appointed to meet us at *Allwalay*, the ſecond ſtage from hence: I could not diſcover for what reaſon, unleſs to profit of the ſhort and direct road thither; it being ſtill inſiſted on that I ſhould return by the ſame roundabout way I had advanced. The neceſſary number being then adjuſted, of bearers †, and people for the baggage, for at their deſire I had diſmiſſed my own cooleys from *Nallendy*,

* They were certainly of very ſmall value; of the ſame kind with thoſe given to me, and differing only in ſome of the workmanſhip, the handles of the ſword, knife, &c. being wrought with gold inſtead of ſilver. There were beſides two pieces of ſilk additional, and ſome toys wrought with ſurpriſing neatneſs in ivory.

† Though I had retained my palankeen-boys under the denomination of pikemen, they inſiſted on ſupplying me with bearers. I would willingly have diſpenſed with this inſtance of politeneſs, which I found a very uneaſy one.

—my

—my visitors took their leave, and we set about preparing for our march.

Gunnoor, MARCH 16th.—Compliments and inquiries, and offers of assistance towards packing up, &c. We proceeded in getting ready every thing for our return.

MARCH 17th. From *Gunnoor* to *Osspoot*, sixteen miles.—This day we set out on our return, but much later than I wished, my conducting friends not arriving from Candy till past twelve o'clock, and then much time was lost in ceremonies of receiving them, &c. From this delay, and badness of road* and bearers, arrived very late at *Osspoot*, where we found houses and provisions prepared as before, for our reception. The dews were extremely heavy and cold, which affected me very much after the violent heat of the day.

MARCH 18th. From *Osspoot* to *Allwalay*†, eighteen miles.—Very late again in

* Some forests of cinnamon and other spices, extremely fresh and fragrant.

† Here I found the letter and presents, as had been appointed.

setting

ſetting out, from the invincible cuſtomary ſlowneſs of my companions. As late and cold in conſequence as the laſt night.

About half-way we were ſtopped by two elephants, who met us in a very narrow part of the road. They halted to reconnoitre us, as we did them; one very large in front, and a young one behind him. Our ſix advanced ſepoys, and the havildar, who marched a little before my palankeen, fired on the foremoſt. The young one immediately retreated; but the firſt ſtood with ſurpriſing firmneſs, and certainly received ſeveral balls. At laſt he turned, but without any ſign either of fear or rage, ſlowly enough into the wood, which broke and ſunk before him. It ſeemed as if he thought it not worth his while to advance; and our bullets, I imagine, made no impreſſion either on his ſide or his courage.

MARCH 19th. From *Allwalay* to *Nallendy-Caravery*, eighteen miles. — Late as uſual, but without any thing remarkable on the road. To my great ſurprize, however, I found the ſepoys ſtill here, not having been

 furniſhed

furniſhed with proviſions, as had been promiſed me, to proceed to *Trincomallée*. But they had been very well ſupplied here, and I attributed it rather to a ſyſtematick ſlowneſs and indolence, than to any unfriendly motive. I was very happy to find here MAHOMMED COSSIM perfectly recovered, and SOLYMAN. My horſe and bullocks very well taken care of.

MARCH 20th. From *Nallendy-Caravery* to *Gona*, about ſeventeen miles.—After a moſt friendly taking leave of the old ſecretary, and a mutual promiſe of correſpondence *, he appointed ſome *Moatyarrs* and *Veraunies* to conduct us the remainder of the way. A neglect in preparations for us, which obliged us to ſleep in the road, near ſome water, but without proviſions. I threatened to complain: the *Moatyarrs* were extremely frightened. We were very much diſturbed in the night by elephants.

* On my arrival at *Trincomallée*, I kept my promiſe, and wrote to Candy an account of the firſt naval engagement, with a preſent of a gun to the interpreter, as I had alſo promiſed.

MARCH

MARCH 21ſt. To *Gona*, about ſix miles. —Arrived here very early, but obliged to ſtay, cooleys not being provided. I threatened the *Moatyarrs* again, who promiſed moſt earneſtly there ſhould be no further diſappointment. Walked in the evening in the woods, which, with a rocky river running through them, were very beautiful.

MARCH 22d. From *Gona* to *Wïſhtegall*, twenty-one miles.—I was extremely ſorry to find, on my arrival here, that the two men who had ſupplied me at this place ſo critically with the one thouſand meaſures of paddy, as I went up, had purchaſed their twenty pagodas ſo dearly—*with their lives!* They had actually been put to death in conſequence! So hoſtile were the orders that had been ſo often mentioned, againſt any communication with the Engliſh! and ſo cruelly inexorable is diſobeyed royalty in this country.

MARCH 23d. From *Wiſhtegall* to *Permaumadoo*, twenty-ſix miles.—Obliged to halt a long time in the road, ſome of our people

were much fatigued, arrived late, and in very bad weather.

MARCH 24th. From *Permaumadoo* to *Tertolay-lake*, on the *Trincomallée* ſide, fourteen miles.—The road and proſpects extremely agreeable, and as I have found in general on my return, the woods cleared away in ſome of the moſt difficult paſſes. Arrived in good time, and a charming moonlight evening, at the houſe prepared on the borders of *Tertolay-lake*, ſome miles on the *Trincomallée* ſide, nearer than where we had ſtopped in going up. A moſt delightful ſituation! But my extreme fatigue and weakneſs prevented me from enjoying it.

MARCH 25th. From *Tertolay-lake* to *Tumbela-Caumum*, twelve miles.—The ſevere rain rendered our journey this morning quite diſagreeable. We arrived, however, early; and I endeavoured to profit of the remainder part of the day, by eſtabliſhing a bullock trade with ſome of the principal inhabitants, under ſanction of the friendſhip we had formed at Candy, and of the revoca-

tion

tion that had been effected of the original hoſtile orders againſt us.

They came accordingly to my quarters, and ſeemed very happy to renew the acquaintance we had begun when I firſt went up; particularly my old talking friend the *verauny*, whom I had firſt met here. I purchaſed ſix bullocks from them on the ſpot, and beſpoke five hundred more to be ſent to *Trincomallée*.

MARCH 26th. From *Tumbela-Caumum* to *Trincomallée*, fifteen miles.--Set out very early this morning, and arrived to dinner, having uſed every poſſible expedition ſince leaving Candy, that my extreme illneſs and weakneſs would allow, in order to return, or at leaſt to communicate to Madras by the ſpeedieſt poſſible opportunity *.

* Little new on my return more than I have remarked, or different from what I have mentioned in going up, except in one very remarkable particular. Many *caraverys*, or fortified gates, had been erected in the moſt difficult paſſes of the roads. A proof, formidable enough, how fortunate we had been in making our friendly ground good.

Though

Though it was impoſſible, as you ſee, to accompliſh for the preſent, the grand object of my miſſion, an actual alliance with theſe people, I thought myſelf very happily ſucceſsful in rectifying thoroughly, as I hope it will appear I have done, their injurious and hoſtile conceptions againſt us, which had produced that fatal prohibition; and in effecting, on the contrary, what is abſolutely neceſſary to our exiſtence in that moſt important ſettlement of *Trincomallée*, and to the refreſhment and health of our fleet,—an adequate ſupply from the interior of the country. I truſt, therefore, that our ſituation there, from being extremely diſtreſſed and precarious, has become perfectly ſecure and comfortable.

Annexed is the journal and diſtance as I computed of each day's march, in our going up to Candy. It may aſſiſt the reader's idea of the difficulty of the roads, and the repeated delays to which we were obliged to ſubmit.

TABLE of Times and Distances on my Journey to Candy.

		miles.
1782, Feb.	5, from *Trincomallée* to *Copputtorey* -	9
	6, from *Copputtorey* to *Tumbela-Caumum* -	6
	7, from *Tumbela-Caumum* to *Tertolay* -	16
	8, from *Tertolay* to *Permaumadoo* - -	10
	9, from *Permaumadoo* to *Pulian-Caravery*	10
	10, - - Ditto - - - Ditto	
	11, from *Pulian-Caravery* to *Wiſhtegall* -	20
	12, - - Ditto - - - Ditto	
	13, from *Wiſhtegall* to *Rock-River* - -	5
	14, from *Rock-River* to *Gona* - - -	16
	15, from *Gona* to *Choultry-Plain* - - -	18
	16 to 28, from *Choultry-Pl.* to *Nallendy-Carav.*	5
March	1, from *Nallendy-Caravery* to *Allwalay* -	18
	2, from *Allwalay* to *Oſspoot* - - - -	18
	3 to 5, from *Oſspoot* to *Gunnoor* - - -	16
	6, from *Gunnoor* to *Candy* - - - -	5
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TABLE

TABLE of Times and Distances on my Return.

		miles.
1782, March 15,	from *Candy* to *Gunnoor* - - - -	5
17,	from *Gunnoor* to *Ofspoot* - - -	16
18,	from *Ofspoot* to *Allwalay* - - -	18
19,	from *Allwalay* to *Nallendy-Caravery*	18
20,	from *Nallendy* to near *Gona* - -	17
21,	to *Gona* - - - - - - - - -	6
22,	from *Gona* to *Wifhtegall* - - -	21
23,	from *Wifhtegall* to *Permaumadoo* -	26
24,	from *Permaumadoo* to *Tertolay-lake*	14
25,	from *Tertolay-lake* to *Tumbela-Caumum*	12
26,	from *Tumbela-Caumum* to *Trincomallee*	15
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EXTRACT

EXTRACT

OF A

LETTER from Mr. BOYD to a FRIEND;

Giving an Account of his EMBASSY from the Government of Madras, to the King of Candy, in the Iſland of Ceylon, in the Year 1782; together with ſome particulars of his Capture by the French fleet, and of the Iſlands of *Mauritius* and *Bourbon*.

Iſle of Bourbon, Aug. 1, 1782.

MY laſt letters, my friend, were both to give you an account of the unlucky event, for I allow it to be ſo, in the firſt inſtance, of my having fallen in with the French fleet, on my leaving Ceylon for Madras laſt April. But I rely on your ſympathizing with

with me in philoſophy, as well as in every thing elſe; for I know ſo well your admirable reſolution and good ſenſe, that I am perſuaded they cannot be eſſentially diſturbed by a temporary accident of this nature. Eſpecially when we conſider ſome circumſtances attending it; which not only confirm me in being content, as a man ought to be in every ſituation, but convince me in ſome reſpects that this will have its eſſential advantages, without any inconveniences, I truſt, of long duration, or conſequence.

I had fortunately concluded my Ceylon operations, before my French ones commenced; and with as much ſucceſs, I flatter myſelf, it will appear, as the difficulties of the whole buſineſs permitted. For indeed it was involved, from firſt to laſt, in difficulties of the moſt ſerious nature, and of every kind, political and natural. Moſt unfortunately for our intereſts in general, and for the accommodation, and ſafety too, of the *ambaſſador and his train* in particular, the old King had died a little time before I left *Trincomallée* on my route to Candy. The old gentleman had been long a friend

to

to us; or, what was the ſame thing, an enemy to the Dutch, with whom he had been engaged in war ſixteen or ſeventeen years ago, and who have been encroaching ever ſince on his territories. The general politicks and intereſt of the court ought to continue the ſame; and they have ſo, in ſome meaſure; but the brother who ſucceeded, not being ſo much diſpoſed by habit, either againſt the Dutch or us, but deceived on the contrary by their miſrepreſentations of our deſigns, thought it neceſſary to keep us at as great a diſtance as poſſible; and even to prohibit all intercourſe or communication whatever between his ſubjects and us. This interdiction would have been a moſt fatal diſtreſs to our new ſettlement at *Trincomallée*, and to our fleet, whoſe only reſource has been there, and where communication with the country was abſolutely neceſſary for the eſſential article of proviſions; and it became requiſite immediately to have it removed, and a right underſtanding eſtabliſhed. But under thoſe circumſtances of prohibition, the means of rectifying matters were difficult in proportion to the neceſſity. And not only thoſe circum-

circumſtances, but the alarming fate of my letter to the King* (of which I think I ſent you a copy by the veſſel we diſpatched laſt January from *Trincomallée*, with an account of our ſucceſs there).—It was to notify to his Majeſty my buſineſs and my approach, and to require his approbation and aſſiſtance towards it But inſtead, I had the diſappointment, and the very unfriendly proſpect in conſequence, of my letter returning to me unopened; with the flimſy pretext in excuſe alleged to my ſeveral meſſengers (for I had not a duplicate, and by ſome of my moſt intelligent and conſequential people) "that they ſuſpected at Candy, that this was not an application really from an Engliſh ambaſſador, but a Dutch trick to ſound, or endeavour to perplex, their politicks; ſimilar to one which they ſaid had been attempted ſome time ago."—Some wiſe man ſays, that however clumſy or futile the apology, it is better to accept it, than dwell on the offence;—I purſued that prudential line, and affected perfect ſatisfaction in my interview with a Candian meſſenger,

* See Appendix, Number I.

who arrived two days after the return of mine. He was diſpatched, not oſtenſibly from court, but by one of their principal generals, as their leading men are called, —governor of the diſtrict—the *Mauthela-diſtrict*, if you ſhould ever travel that country,—in which *Trincomallée* is included. They had heard, in the mean time, ſome particulars of our force and ſucceſs, by the return of ſome previous meſſengers whom they had ſent to *Trincomallée* to obſerve matters, and whom we had received and entertained as favourably as poſſible. To this new courier, therefore, even with his ſubaltern credentials from the general, and fooliſh additional apologies, and *verbal* only, I appeared perfectly ſatisfied; and I reſolved at once to take what immediate advantage I could of their excuſes, and not only to ſend my rejected letter a ſecond time, but to venture forth myſelf; not in *queſt* of adventures, like a certain famous gentleman, but worſe circumſtanced, though leſs romantically, I hope, than that adventurous knight, —with a certainty of encountering many, equally difficult and dangerous.

On

On the 5th of February I took the field, a-la-militaire, with a very fine company of grenadiers, ſepoys, from *Trincomallée;* ſixty-three in all, with their black officers, and Mr. CHERECH who commanded them, and was the only white face, with that of your humble ſervant, in the whole party. The reſt of my ſuite conſiſted of my clerk, my debaſh (the term here for the black gentleman who tranſacts all buſineſs for you), with our palankeen and * dooley-bearers; beſides theſe bearers, we had the bearers of our baggage, cooleys they call them; ſo that with ſervants of all kinds, for ſhow as well as uſe, chubdars, peons, &c. nor forgetting the cooks and their kitchen-train, we were in all an hundred and ſeventy-three. But I have got into my Ceylon hiſtory all at once, more circumſtantially than I intended; and as the *conſequence* of it is at preſent at leaſt more intereſting to us, let us ſkip over, in the mean time, the adventures of the ambaſſador, and come to the ſituation of the priſoner. It has been all along ren-

* The dooley is an inferior ſort of palankeen.

dered

dered as little irkſome as poſſible, by the very polite, and in ſome eſſential particulars, very friendly attention I have met with. Particularly in the firſt inſtance, from Captain DE SALVERT, of La Fin frigate, by whom I was taken, the 10th of April, the ſecond day after I left Ceylon. I had returned from my Candy expedition the 26th of March, and had ſome hopes that the French fleet had been obliged to leave the coaſt after the firſt engagement on the 17th of February, as there had been no intelligence of them at *Trincomallée* all that time. But even if they ſhould be on the coaſt, it was certain they would be to the ſouthward of Madras, and we calculated, that by ſtanding to the eaſtward, we ſhould get round them, and make Madras very ſafely. Unfortunately the wind diſappointed our calculation, and failing us intirely, and moſt unuſually at that ſeaſon, left us cloſe to the French ſquadron, the ſecond morning at day-break, off the coaſt of Ceylon. They were attending, or as they called it, chaſing, the Engliſh fleet, and the two ſquadrons had been in ſight of each other

other for ſome days. But the fact was, ſimply, that Sir EDWARD HUGHES was waiting only to gain ſome advantages of wind and ſituation, and by no means declining the combat; as appeared fully, two days after, on the 12th of April, when he gave them battle, and the longeſt and moſt regular engagement of the whole war. For five hours and twenty minutes a conſtant and active fire was ſuſtained on both ſides, and both the lines preſerved almoſt exactly, eſpecially ours; excepting the unfortunate Monmouth, who was obliged to retire with the loſs of two of her maſts, from the fire of SUFFREIN'S ſhip, early in the engagement. He himſelf, however, ſuffered ſo much, eſpecially from his brother admiral, Sir EDWARD, that he was under the neceſſity of quitting his own veſſel, and going on board another. They outnumbered us by one,—twelve to eleven,—in conſequence of the unfortunate capture of the Annibal, commanded by my friend who takes this to you, Captain CHRISTY. He will deſcribe to you all thoſe particulars that you may have any curioſity about, and all private ones too,

relative

relative to your humble ſervant, which he knows too well, having been ſo long in the ſame ſituation here. But my arrival here has been only about a month, having ſtopped five weeks at the *Iſle of France*, whither I was diſpatched the 16th of April, four days after the engagement. I was deſirous to have remained with their ſquadron, on board my friend DE SALVERT, to be near the coaſt, in hopes of ſome favourable event, and poſſibly of a cartel for exchange ſpeedily taking place; but on SUFFREIN's application to Sir EDWARD HUGHES, to have one eſtabliſhed, a neceſſary delay *, and ſome offence to SUFFREIN had ariſen, I think, without reaſon; and I received from him the polite refuſal of my requeſt, of which I incloſe you a copy †. The "*ſujet de plainte*" againſt the Preſidency of Madras, was their not having anſwered his letter—*which they had not received.* But the delay of the cartel continuing, I cannot help

* Sir EDWARD anſwered in a manner too ſhort and cavalier, SUFFREIN thought, "that he could not till he ſhould hear from the government of Madras."

† See Appendix, Number II.

agreeing, with M. SUFFREIN, that he really has rendered me a ſervice in ſending me hither, where I certainly have been more agreeably circumſtanced than I could have been on board the Fin ſo long. For as to the other idea, which you ſee he throws out in his letter, of ſending his priſoners to the Nabob, as he calls him, HYDER ALLY; I hope it was only a menace, thrown out for me to communicate to Madras to Lord M. to induce a cartel the more ſpeedily, and that he could not be ſerious in intending ſo barbarous a meaſure. If he were, and it ſhould take place, I have really had a very fortunate eſcape: for as he argues it in his letter, I have found theſe iſlands juſtify his deſcription. And in that moſt important article of all others, health. I hinted, that the moſt eſſential advantages are derived from accidents ſometimes ſeemingly adverſe. So I have experienced: for I muſt confeſs, —and you know I am not willing to confeſs any thing of this ſort, but from the long fatigue of my Ceylon buſineſs, and the extreme heat of that climate at that time, it cannot be wondered at, that I had ſuffered

a little

a little in that moſt eſſential circumſtance. And my immediate return to Madras, though ſo deſirable on ſome other accounts, would certainly have been by no means ſo favourable to my becoming again perfectly well, as the climate and country here; which deſerve every praiſe that can be beſtowed on them in that reſpect, and indeed, in the other important one, alſo, mentioned by my noble correſpondent, of the *agréable ſociété*. —Of the *Iſle of France* I can ſay very little, having had no opportunity of ſeeing the country, or the inhabitants. For being a place of arms, and regularly fortified, to defend their coaſt and harbour where their fleets rendezvous, and they have always abundance of ſhipping, it is of the utmoſt conſequence to them to prevent any hoſtile eye becoming acquainted with the ſituation. And it was a great favour to permit me to remain there ſo long, even under the reſtraint which it was neceſſary to impoſe. The conſtant uſage being to ſend the priſoners to this iſland immediately, without ſtopping, or going on ſhore at all, at the *Iſle of France:* but I deſired it, in hopes

conſtantly of ſome good news, perhaps of cartel, from the ſquadrons or the coaſt. During my ſtay there, I had the ſatisfaction, and I aſſure you, I thought it a very conſiderable one, of ſeeing the famous Monſ. BUSSY:—a character moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed throughout the laſt war in India. Very formidably ſo, indeed, for us at preſent; when the exertion of his talents, and the authority of his name, which were equally famous in the cabinet and the field, muſt very powerfully reinforce the cauſe of his country in India: and he comes out with complete power and command, by land and ſea, and unlimited credit on the treaſury of France. But ſtill, I truſt, they are neither ſtrong, nor rich enough,—nor in time, either, which is as neceſſary, to effect any thing againſt us.—*He honoured me with a viſit*, with Viſcompte SOUILLAC, the Governor; and was extremely polite and attentive, giving particular directions that I ſhould be ſupplied with every thing I deſired. His manner is rather reſerved, but not forbidding; tall and digniſied in his appearance, with a moſt intelligent countenance,

remarkably

remarkably fair and freſh for his years and ſervices (ſixty-five), and many campaigns in India!—But the mention of my health, on which I know your tenderneſs will take too anxious an alarm, induces me to return to Ceylon, to account to you, ſtill more particularly, how it ſuffered, neceſſarily indeed, from the fatigue, delay, and anxiety, of my ſituation there.

(Signed) HUGH BOYD.

* The remainder of this letter is a relation of Mr. Boyd's journey in Ceylon, and of his negociation with the King of Candy. But as it contains little more information of any kind than has been given in the journal, it were ſuperfluous to publiſh it.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

TO THE

KING OF CANDY, &c. &c.

FROM

HUGH BOYD, Esq. &c.

I Have the honour of acquainting your Highneſs, that I am appointed ambaſſador to your Highneſs's durbar, by his Excellency the Right Honourable Lord MACARTNEY, the Governor, and the Preſidency of Madras; and that I am charged with a letter to your Highneſs, from the Governor, in order to explain to you their favourable ſentiments, and aſſure you of their friendſhip.

I ſuppoſe

I ſuppoſe your Highneſs has already heard of the great ſucceſſes of the Engliſh againſt their enemies, particularly the Dutch, whom they have now driven entirely from the coaſt of *Coromandel*, having taken from them their laſt ſettlement there, *Negapatam*.

To carry on the victories of the Engliſh againſt the Dutch, Vice-admiral Sir EDWARD HUGHES, commander in chief of the King of England's ſhips and marine forces in India, is now arrived with the fleet and force under his command at *Trincomallée*, in conjunction with the troops of the Engliſh Eaſt-India Company. He has already taken one of their forts from the Dutch, called *Trincomallée-Fort*, with many priſoners, and without oppoſition. And he is proceeding with equal vigour, and with certainty of equal ſucceſs, againſt their only other fort, called *Oſtendburgh*. Which muſt alſo yield to the great ſuperiority of the Engliſh arms.

This will certainly have been effected long before your Highneſs can have received this letter. But in the character with which I have

have the honour of being inveſted as ambaſſador to your Highneſs, I am deſirous to take the earlieſt opportunity, in tranſmitting to you theſe happy particulars, to aſſure you that it is only againſt their enemies the Dutch, that the arms of the Engliſh are directed; and that the higheſt reſpect and attention will be ſhewn to your Highneſs's rights and dignity; and that your ſubjects will be treated with the utmoſt kindneſs and friendſhip, according to a declaration which his Excellency Sir EDWARD HUGHES, Admiral and Commander in Chief, has already publiſhed. I am happy in communicating theſe matters to your Highneſs, not doubting that it will give you pleaſure to hear of the ſucceſs and power of your friends.

As many more Engliſh ſhips and troops are expected ſoon to be here, and as ſome great further operations will probably be ſoon carried on by them, for the deſtruction of their enemies, and the advantage of their friends, I am ordered by his Excellency the Governor of Madras, to communicate to your Highneſs, as ſoon as poſſible, the letter

from him, which I have the honour of being charged with.

I ſhall be happy, therefore, to deliver it to your Highneſs in perſon, with every explanation and friendly aſſurance which you can deſire, as ſoon as I ſhall know in reply to this, that you have given the neceſſary orders for my accommodation on the road to Candy, and that you have ſent proper perſons to conduct me thither. And this, I hope, your Highneſs will be pleaſed to do immediately, as there ought to be no delay in tranſactions of ſo much importance.

I am alſo charged with a letter to your Highneſs, from his Highneſs WALAH JAH, Nabob of the Carnatic, which I ſhall be happy to deliver to you.

I only wait to have the honour of hearing from your Highneſs as I have deſired; I ſhall then immediately proceed to enter on all theſe important matters, on the moſt friendly and ſatisfactory ground to your Highneſs.

(Signed) HUGH BOYD.

No.

No. II.

A Letter from M. SUFFREIN, *Admiral and Commandant of the French fleet, in the Indian Seas, in the year* 1782, *to* Mr. BOYD.

SIR,

IT is with the greateſt regret, that reaſons, reſulting from the ſervice I am employed in, will not ſuffer me to comply with your requeſt; and it is one of the misfortunes of thoſe who command, that they cannot gratify the feelings of their hearts.

I ſhall not enter into a detail of the ſubjects on which I may have reaſon to complain, of Mr. JOHNSTONE, Governor of *Negapatam*, as well as of the Preſidency of Madras, and others, for I aſſure you, they ſhall not influence my determination reſpecting you. I am even doing you, in my opinion, an act of ſervice, for in caſe the French priſoners are ſent to Bengal, an unwholeſome climate, and to which the navigation is not without danger, it will be incumbent on me, (until I have a ſolid eſtabliſhment in India, or that a cartel

a cartel for exchange ſhall be fixed on) to commit the Engliſh priſoners to the care of the Nabob, and I think the *Iſles of France*, or of *Bourbon*, which are pleaſant countries in point of ſalubrity and ſociety, will be more agreeable to you.

I am, Sir, with reſpect,
Your moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,
SUFFREIN.

On board the Hero,
16th April, 1782.

No. III.

To his Excellency the Marquis DE BUSSY, *Lieut. General and Commander in Chief of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's forces in India. From* Mr. BOYD.

SIR,

PERSUADED that your Excellency is no leſs diſpoſed by inclination, than inveſted with authority on the part of your country, to

to conduct the war in this quarter of the globe, according to the uſage of civilized nations, and the rights of individuals, I have the honour of repreſenting to your Excellency my claim to be enlarged from the captivity I am held in, and the grounds on which I conceive that claim to be founded.

Priſoners of war, I conceive to be thoſe, and properly ſpeaking, thoſe only, who, being actually in a military capacity, are thrown by the fortune of war into the hands of the enemy. Poſſibly alſo, in ſome caſes, this deſcription may be extended to perſons exerciſing ſome publick executive office of the ſtate to which they belong. But I have the honour of ſubmitting to your Excellency, that men, merely in a civil capacity, are not in fact, nor ought in juſtice, to be conſidered priſoners of war.

On the juſtice of the ſubject, I apprehend little need be ſtated. It would be obviouſly contrary to the juſt order and relation of things, that men of peace, whoſe characters, occupations, and fortunes, are totally diſtinct from war, ſhould yet be ſubject to its laws, and condemned to ſuſtain,

in

in their private capacities, the ſevereſt adverſities of publick hoſtility, without any title or opportunity to partake its honours or advantages. Such an indiſcriminate ſubjection to its conſequences, would be an aggravation, equally cruel and unjuſt, of the injuries to civil ſociety from all warfare, even the moſt qualified and humanized. The ſufferings of individuals would be in proportion to its injuſtice; for the more alien they are from the buſineſs of war, the leſs prepared are their peaceable affairs for its revolutions, and the more ruined by its unexpected calamities.

As to the fact, conſtant example muſt have occurred to your Exellency's experience and opportunities. One very recent, permit me to revert to; the capture of the merchant ſhips from Great Britain, for the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, by the Spaniards in 1779, and the immediate releaſe of all thoſe whoſe ſituation was merely civil, of whom there were many on board, appointed to offices in the Engliſh ſettlements. They were inſtantly diſcharged, on the principles I have had the honour of ſtating to your Excellency,

Excellency, and conſiſtently with conſtant cuſtom, as not being objects of hoſtility, and therefore not priſoners of war.

Such, Sir, is my actual ſituation; I never had the honour of holding any military rank whatever, nor any character that was not perfectly private, till in October, 1781, above fourteen months ago, I was appointed to a negociation in the iſland of Ceylon. It is not now neceſſary to diſcuſs the nature of my appointment.—Nine months have elapſed ſince my return from it. So that, in whatever light it might have been conſidered, having ſo long ceaſed, the memory of it cannot affect my preſent claim. If any authority were wanting to an argument ſo obvious, I can produce the moſt reſpectable. In a late tranſaction with the governments of the *Iſles of France* and *Bourbon*, relative to the character I ſhould be conſidered to hold, in order to regulate my ſubſiſtence as a priſoner, it was decided by both thoſe high authorities, "that the appointment I had formerly held for negociations in the iſland of Ceylon, had been of a nature only momentary and tranſient, *and was now no more;*

more; that the only capacity, therefore, in which I could now be conſidered to ſtand, was the ſtation I had held at Madras."

The only ſtation which I held at Madras was that of one of Lord MACARTNEY's Secretaries. Standing therefore in a character ſo perfectly civil and private, not even in the ſervice of the Eaſt India Company, but ſimply in the family of Lord MACARTNEY, permit me to repeat my claims as a point of right; and to expect from the juſtice of your Excellency, that you will be pleaſed to give order accordingly, for my immediate paſſage from this iſland, either to India, or to Europe, as the neceſſities of my private affairs, injured ſeverely by this long captivity, may require.

To your Excellency's experience and penetration, I am conſcious it would have been unneceſſary to ſtate thus at length the particulars of this ſubject. But diſcuſſions of this nature are not merely the concern of the individuals who happen to be the immediate parties. Such ſubjects ought to be fully ſtated and underſtood. Acted upon by

by the decisive authority of your Excellency, they become a precedent for nations.

In full persuasion that that high authority will be always exerted on the fairest principles, and with the most respectful consideration for your Excellency's person and character,

I have the honour to remain,
Your EXCELLENCY'S
Most obedient and most humble servant,
HUGH BOYD.

Isle of Bourbon,
Dec. 18th, 1782.

THE

THE

INDIAN OBSERVER.

THE

INDIAN OBSERVER.

NUMBER I.—SEPT. 9, 1793.

" *The difficulty of the firſt addreſs on any new occaſion, is felt by every man in his tranſactions with the world.* JOHNSON.

IF ſuch be the acknowledgment of a great maſter, who to extraordinary force of mind united the ample ſtores of learning and knowledge, and with a ſtrength of ſtyle peculiarly his own, preſented more ſubjects to the publick eye than perhaps any other author; what muſt be the feelings of the common claſs of writers?—and, if merely the firſt addreſs involve ſo much difficulty, how formidable muſt be the undertaking, to

repeat, at ſtated periods, certain *quantums* of compoſition; to bind fancy down to punctuality; and to preſent to the publick attention, a periodical eſſay? How arduous ought the attempt to appear, if they knew themſelves, to thoſe whoſe literary ambition muſt be conſcious of much unſtudious avocation; who have omitted to ſupply by obſervation, or even late inquiry, what perhaps was early neglected in ſtudy, or denied in genius; to thoſe, in fine, whoſe experience is ſo limited, both of themſelves and the world, that they think they can write, and hope they will be read. It may be remarked, that theſe difficulties are more felt by the veteran than the young adventurer; that forward zeal will ruſh, where caution would tremble to tread; and that the ſuperficial judge boldly plunges into his ſea of troubles; fearleſs, becauſe ignorant, of the dangers of the literary deep.

Although not wholly in the latter deſcription, of abſolute inexperience, the preſent writer is well aware of his diſtance from the former. He regards with a moſt reſpectful eye, the interval between his humbie eſſay, and

and the excellence of periodical publication, which, for an Auguſtan century, has been the ornament and inſtruction of his country. From the firſt admirable example of this ſpecies of compoſition, through the many ſucceeding ſpecimens of excellent imitation, up to the didactick, moral, and ſententious eloquence of a late learned luminary, ſo extenſive a range had been taken of life and manners, and with ſuch minute inveſtigation, that little opening appeared for the encouragement of ſubſequent attempts on a ſimilar plan; few materials ſeemed to remain for any novelty of ſubject, or variety of arrangement. Scarcely a corner or receſs of human character had been left unexplored, or a motive of conduct untraced. While the eagle eye of the *Spectator* had looked vice into ſhame, his keen and brilliant ray had penetrated and diſpelled the clouds of falſe taſte, follies, and affectation; and with a new informing light, had diſplayed, in their genuine luſtre, the charms of genius, virtue, and piety. The *Tatler* told every thing to every body; and told it ſo well, and ſo truly, that the hearer was allured

allured to liſten, and delighted to laugh; till warmed into praiſe by the juſtice of the ridicule, he was ſurpriſed by its application, at the winding up of the moral tale—*de te fabula narratur.* The *Guardian* watched with anxious attention againſt every miſchief, and for every good, that might arrive to his fair wards; and knowing that happineſs is the crown of virtue, he alſo knew that the immortal wreath receives ſtill new charms, when adjuſted by the gentler duties and graces of life: he extended his ſolicitude to the manners, as well as to the morals; and he preſented to the queen of female virtues, as the faireſt and ſafeſt handmaids, elegance and decorum. The *World* diſplayed its knowledge, and diffuſed the precept of its beſt ſcience, in a manner ſo agreeably varied, as to prove that the conductors of that literary planet, for its day of influence, were well qualified to diſcriminate the parallaxes of pleaſure and propriety in the ſchool of faſhion; to catch and correct the fluctuating manners in that changeable ſcene; to prove, by a happy mixture of the moſt pleaſing with the moſt uſeful doctrine, that the true

orbit

orbit of the man of pleaſure is within the eccentricities of extravagance: and the ſphere of honour has ever virtue for its centre.

Such, through ſucceſſive brilliant periods, were the concentrated and continued efforts of the talents of ſome of the brighteſt names of Engliſh literature; when one champion ſingly and boldly ſtepped forward in the liſts, where the difficult prize of fame had hitherto been contended for by the united powers of many. The *Rambler* appeared; confident in his ſtrength, and conſtant in the cauſe of truth. His genius, nervous, original, and intrepid, attacked the ſubſtance and the root of every vice, in whatever form or colour it could appear, of endeavour to diſſemble.—And although lighter follies might elude his giant graſp, no cardinal crime could find protection, in the power or corruption of wealth, from the inflexible cenſure of his moral juſtice. His acute reſearch diſcriminates, with unerring exactneſs, the different merits, too often confounded in the ethical balance; his reſiſtleſs reaſoning, in the inculcation of the various duties

duties of life, though ſometimes apparently too abſtracted and refined, is drawn from the ſimpleſt and pureſt ſources; and comes home, in Lord Bacon's phraſe, "To the buſineſs and boſoms of men." But above all, in his ſublime diſcuſſions of the moſt ſacred truths, as no ſtyle can be too lofty, nor conceptions too grand, for ſuch a ſubject; ſo has the great maſter never exerted the powers of his great genius with more ſignal ſucceſs. Impiety ſhrinks beneath his rebuke; the atheiſt trembles and repents; the dying ſinner catches a gleam of revealed hope; and all acknowledge the juſt diſpenſations of eternal wiſdom.

If, in retroſpect to theſe great exemplars, the writer has been induced into more detail than he foreſaw, or his reader deſired, it is a proof of the danger of attempting to tread in their footſteps; a path ſo brilliant, as to have made him loſe ſight of the object he had in view. But this, he hopes, will have been in ſome meaſure anticipated by the good-nature of the reader, from what has been already ſubmitted, as to the difficulty of ſo new an attempt. The uſual re-

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ſource of the trembling author, is the candour of the publick: that is, in other words, if it muſt be confeſſed, the favour, or at leaſt the mercy, of the critick; and every reader is a critick; for every writer, if he has the ſmalleſt grain of inſtinct of authorſhip about him, anticipates, with no little anxiety, the various judgment that may await him; flattered ſometimes by ſelf-approval, fortunately, as perhaps he may have nothing elſe to reward him, with the hope of a friendly nod; more alarmed, probably, on the other hand, as fear is a more active principle than hope, with the terrors of the contemptuous ſhrug. If, however, this ſpecies of publication in periodical eſſay, on the various topicks of morals, manners, and literature, has gained eminent and continued approbation from a European publick, may not even the novelty of the attempt to introduce it on the Indian ſcene, claim ſome favour, and deprecate ſeverity. To deſerve the former, he is aware how much he will ſtand in need, not only of the critical indulgence, but the active kindneſs of his friends. He will be doubly encouraged by their aſ-

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ſiſtance, and their example. And as it is his determined principle to avoid either giving or taking offence, he hopes that the nature of their favours, and his reception of them, will be equally ſatisfactory to both parties and the publick.

P.

NUMBER II.—SEPT. 16, 1793.

Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
Gaudia, diſcurſus, noſtri farrago libelli. JUVENAL.

All human actions, wiſhes, fears, or rage,
Pleaſures, or joys, or reaſonings of the ſage,
Compoſe the motley matter of our page.

THE ſphere of human life is ſtudied with ſo many motives, and the lines of conduct are ſo diverſely directed, as to preſent an inexhauſtible fund to the philoſophical obſerver. Reaſons infinitely various ariſe, as to the ſources whence actions ſpring, the principles on which they proceed, and the objects to which they tend. While ſome ſpeculatiſts confine their origin and their ſcope to ſelfiſh parallels, others admitting a

more liberal variety, acknowledge the exiſtence at leaſt, if not the general prevalence, of diſintereſted principle. Another claſs, dazzled by the glare of metaphyſical ingenuity, and loſt in the mazes of free will and neceſſity, reſort to ſcepticiſm as their only clue; reſolving all their reſearch after knowledge into learned doubt and oſtentatious ignorance. The true philoſophy will probably be found in a mixed ſyſtem of theſe three opinions; in a *moral conſtitution*, where the deſpotiſm of *ſelf* is qualified by the honourable corrective of generous ſentiment; and where the low and levelling ideas of promiſcuous predeſtination, yield to the dignity of free agency and the order of reaſon.

When the parliamentary mover announces that a ſtring of motions is to follow his firſt propoſition, he is called on by the prudent caution of the hearers, for an expoſition of thoſe which he threatens are to follow. Without the privilege of parliament, though honoured with the ſanction of the higher powers, and favoured with the indulgence of the publick, the Obſerver feels himſelf more called upon to expound the intended

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ſeries of his diſquiſitions. As "the proper ſtudy of mankind is man," his intention is to purſue the ſubject in its ſeveral parts; to inveſtigate the ſources of human conduct; to diſcover the ſprings that continue to actuate; and to diſplay the objects that allure or deter.

For the diviſion of a ſubject ſo various and important, it is not eaſy to find a more comprehenſive model, than the diſtribution marked out in the plan of the great Roman ſatiriſt, which appears at the head of this paper. His obſervation had the richeſt and moſt extenſive variety for its object. Triumphant in arms, and eminent in arts, the miſtreſs of the European world preſented an univerſal ſcene for the inveſtigation of the philoſopher and the ſtrictures of the cenſor. With power to command the means, and wealth to purchaſe the objects, of every gratification, Imperial Rome exhibited at once the advantages of the arts and refinement which poliſh life, and the miſchiefs that reſult from their abuſe and exceſs. While we contemplate the immortal monuments of learning and genius, of philoſophy, oratory,

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and poetry, which ſhe has bequeathed to the admiration of poſterity; we are condemned at the ſame time to view, with a ſigh for the imperfection of our nature, the follies that diſgraced her wiſdom, and the vices that ſullied her glory. More fatal than the moſt hoſtile arms, according to the ſatiriſt, luxury undermined the greatneſs invincible to every other foe; and the victors of mankind, vanquiſhed by themſelves, gave to the world the revenge it could not take.

But if this dark ſide of the picture diſguſt, and if the ſhade of ſatire thrown upon it, be too ſtrong; and it may truly be aſſerted that it is ſo, as to any application to modern times; we can turn with pleaſure to the fairer part of the ancient ſcene, as more applicable to the better refinement and qualified character of preſent manners.

The ſuperior ſtyle of manners which has characterized the latter ages, is generally attributed to the ſpirit of chivalry which prevailed in Europe; the gallant offspring of military adventure and romantick religion, after the extraordinary effervescence of the Cruſades had ſubſided. It is certain, that

that much of what is generally underſtood to be modern refinements, may be deduced from that liberal ſource, of perſonal magnanimity, and generous zeal, highly exalted and ardent in the diſintereſted purſuit of its object; when each individual conſidered himſelf the Achilles of the war; and ſtanding high on his own armorial acquirements, the rewards and the memorials of his valour, gloried in the proud contraſt of the honour both of his atchievements and his cauſe, with the baſeneſs of the barbarian infidels, rebels to the true religion, and uſurpers of the ſacred territory. Though the object was loſt or changed, the ſpirit of adventure and principle of perſonal dignity remained. Another object was found for high and honourable ſenſibility, in the tranſition from religion to the devotions of gallantry; the rules of which required, with faſtidious exactneſs, an uniform decorum of conduct. Theſe powerful cauſes have doubtleſs had much influence in meliorating the manners and ſentiments of men; eſpecially the latter great conſideration, formed by gentle and correct degrees into the grand improvement

of

of life; a due attachment, not alone to the perſonal charms of the female ſex, but to the virtues and talents that dignify and adorn them.

But with ſubmiſſion to the general reaſoning which would infer theſe topicks from a few fixed and diſtant points, it muſt appear on a minute conſideration of the ſubject, that many and various ſtages occur where the attention muſt reſt, in obſerving the riſe, progreſs, and change, of the motives and objects of manners and actions. The abſtract reaſoner may amuſe himſelf, but will not eaſily convince his reaſonable hearer, with the broad poſition, that human nature is every where the ſame; a maxim, which if it meant any thing as foundation for argument, ought to be defined in a very limited and ſtrict ſenſe; as inferring only that human beings are the ſame originally and by nature; and even this explanation will find its antagoniſts. But to apply it generally to an identification of human nature through all the various habits of education and religion, under all climates and all governments, would be to deny what all

all mankind concur in acknowledging, the invincible power of cuſtom; and to maintain that moral and phyſical cauſes have no influence on the mind and faculties of man.

In the inſtance, however, of the European world in India, the ſame obſervation may be applied to them on this queſtion, as to the champions of chivalry; that the object is altered, while the motive or principle of purſuit remains the ſame. HORACE tells us, that the traveller changes his climate, not his diſpoſition. The Obſerver will not at preſent diſcuſs this aphoriſm of the polite ſatiriſt; but hopes in the inveſtigation in his following numbers, of the ſubjects propoſed in his motto, it will be found as true as it is polite; and that local knowledge may be acquired from local change, without real alteration of diſpoſition or ſentiment.

P.

NUMBER

NUMBER III.—SEPT. 23, 1793.

Hoc erat in votis. HORACE.

This was my wish.

MR. OBSERVER,

NOTHING could be more *apropos* to the sentiments with which I was impressed by your first number, than the subject of your second. Wishes are the theme you propose in the latter to consider; and a wish was the sentiment I was inspired with by the former; —a very sincere wish to be thought worthy the correspondence of the Observer, and to contribute as much as in my power to relieve the labour, and assist the plan of his observations.

The novelty of your undertaking, in this country, is no less attractive, than its advantages promise to be useful and pleasing to the publick. Its difficulty, however, of periodical performance, which you have so well observed upon, must be so readily admitted,

that I conceive it to be as readily reſolved to leſſen it as much as poſſible, by thoſe, who even "think they can write." Without pretending to ſtand ſo high in my own conceit, I have aſſumed courage, however, to propoſe myſelf as an humble recruit, with hearty zeal at leaſt for the ſervice, to ſtand in the gap, perhaps, when you have not time to bring up better troops: for I imagine it very poſſible, that in ſome forced marches the Obſerver may not be always ready to move with the Hircarrah. If you find me effective enough to be of any uſe, I am entirely at your command; place me, if you pleaſe, at the head of the column, to take off the fire; and the criticks ſhall find me at leaſt as ſerviceable as Falſtaff's forces, —"food for powder."

It were devoutly to be wiſhed, Mr. Obſerver, that the deſires of men could be, in the firſt place, regulated by reaſon, ſo as to be directed to worthy objects; and ſecondly, that they were purſued with ſpirit and conſtancy, ſo that the objects might be ſpeedily attained, and fully enjoyed. The liſtleſs languor of expectation palls upon the waſted faculties,

faculties, and the ſpirits evaporate in protracted imagination. Delays produce doubts and fears, even as to the merit of what has been long in contemplation; the object of purſuit ceaſes finally to be an object of deſire; and inſtead of the comforts and ſatisfaction it originally promiſed, brings, perhaps, diſguſt and diſappointment; or at beſt, ſinks into a paſſive and careleſs poſſeſſion, without taſte or enjoyment.

I have pointed my remark on this latter ſubject rather to the mode of purſuit, than to the nature of the objects; becauſe, in this country at leaſt, the latter do not appear to be ſo various, as the former is intereſting. It has been obſerved of our neighbours the Dutch, and our predeceſſors the Portugueze, that their views have been directed to permanent eſtabliſhment in their Indian ſettlements;—but it may be very generally aſſerted, I apprehend, as to our countrymen, that if not abſolutely affected with the *maladie de Suiſſe*, ſo as to ſicken with deſire to return, yet that is a very ſtrong and prevalent ſentiment, and a hope frequently and fondly indulged, on their arrival in this

country. But experience may be appealed to on the queſtion, whether the deſire continues equally ſtrong, whether the object be purſued with due activity and conſtancy, or even whether it be embraced when within reach? Perhaps the *amor patriæ*, like all other affections, as moſt philoſophers aſſure us, ſuffers the diminiſhing influence of time and abſence. The object itſelf, indeed, in ſome degree, ſuſtains an inevitable change, in the loſs of friends, and oblivion of acquaintances:—but the general effect on the whole certainly is, that the anxious wiſh at firſt higheſt in the heart, beating with recent recollection of the objects long neareſt and deareſt to it, becomes leſs and leſs ardent, not only in proportion as time leſſens and lulls the attention, but as different objects ariſe to divert it.

How often do we ſee the original object gradually diminiſhed, and apparently annihilated, in inſtances of the poſſeſſors of large fortunes; who either remain in this country till they loſe all faculty of enjoying them in Europe, or miſtaking the line ſtill more widely, ſacrifice the end to the means, and die

die in India, in preparing a rich return to their native country.

What has been ſuggeſted, however, on this ſubject, eſpecially as to the decreaſe of deſire for returning to happineſs at home, it is hoped will not by any means be univerſally applied. Particular circumſtances or ſituations occur, to counteract general cauſes; and even the general cauſes that have been mentioned are not without exception, as to their effects. There are affections which are never abſent from the objects beloved; and the affliction of true affection, impoſſible to be diminiſhed by any cauſe, is multiplied by time and diſtance.

If wealth, however, be the principal end of purſuit in this country, it is not the only one: martial renown, political conſequence, literary fame, all ſpread their brilliant allurements, and inſpire the generous wiſh. And it may be remarked in India, more perhaps than in the variegated ſcene of Europe, theſe great purſuits are cultivated in general, in a high ſtrain of honour and diſintereſtedneſs, and their objects attained generally with acknowledged merit and deſerved ſucceſs:—

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and if purſuit of the general object of fortune be ſometimes carried too far, and continued too long, it is pleaſing, however, on the other hand, to obſerve the wiſe and moderate conduct which knows when and how to ſtop. The miſtaken maxim, that there is more pleaſure in the purſuit than the poſſeſſion, invented probably as a palliative for diſappointment, ſeems to have deceived thoſe keen fortune-hunters, who neglect the game after they have run it down. Lord BACON thought more wiſely, who ſaid that,—"hope was a pleaſant breakfaſt, a tolerable dinner, but a very bad ſupper."

I am, Mr. Obſerver,

Your obedient Co-adjutor,

P. CO-OPTATOR.

NUMBER IV.—SEPT. 30, 1793.

——— *Where* Hope *reſides,*
There ever flutters her pale ſiſter Fear.
HARTSON'S COUNTESS OF SALISBURY.

IN the profound œconomy of the human mind, perhaps there is no ſubject of which the conſideration is in itſelf more curious, or in its conſequence more uſeful, than the proximity of the paſſions. Even thoſe which appear on a curſory view to be moſt diſtinct in their progreſs, and different or even contrary in their nature, will be found from more minute examination wonderfully connected and allied; flowing from the ſame ſource, though directed through diſtinct channels of operation, and aſſuming various colours as they proceed; and governed by the ſame object, though the mode of regard be different. Like the mathematical curvature of the *parabola*, conſtantly accompanying its right line neighbour; though of different form and quality, always tend-

ing towards the ſame object, and for ever coinciding.

Reflection on this ſubject may check the pride of the caſuiſts, who arrogate merit to what is perhaps purely accidental; or, at the beſt, only a ſecondary quality of action, as colour is of ſubſtance. Paſſions, abſtractedly conſidered, are neither virtues nor vices. They are the diſpoſitions of the mind, implanted by Nature: differing, it is true, in degree and vigour, in proportion to the various conſtitutions of mind and body with which the Author of human nature has diverſified his creation; but more different in the courſes they purſue, according to accidental ſituations or original impreſſions; as early example may have ſuggeſted, or as may have been inculcated by education and habit. It is then that their character as criminal or praiſe worthy comes into conſideration; and it is evident that their merit is to be appreciated, according to the uſe which is made of them as the great inſtruments in the intercourſe of life. Let not, however, their conſanguinity be forgotten, though their conduct and merit be eſſentially different.

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The profligate ſon was of the ſame pious ſtock with thoſe who needed no repentance; may not a perverted paſſion be alſo conſidered with kindneſs, and reclaimed with effect, when, rejecting the draff and huſks of error, it returns to the feaſt of reaſon.

Of the diſpoſitions of the mind, which are really very near to each other, though apparently diſtant, it has been frequently ſaid, that pride and meanneſs are remarkable inſtances. Though I do not think the obſervation exactly correct, it is too favourable to my general poſition to be entirely given up. They may, I believe, truly be conſidered, as mutually ſubſervient, and, indeed, reciprocally productive of each other. The ſpecies of pride intended here (for all honeſt and virtuous pride is certainly out of the queſtion), exiſting only for oſtentation "to ſtupid ſtarers and their loud huzzas," would pay any price of private infamy for publick pomp and parade. Meanneſs, on the contrary, when elevated by the caprice of fortune, ſubſtitutes empty pride to real dignity; or even in its original baſeneſs, revenges the ſervility it pays, by ſubordinate arrogance

arrogance and petty tyranny to its wretched inferiors.

Impreſſed with the ſincereſt regard for the ſex, it is difficult for an admiring *Obſerver* to aſſociate the idea of meanneſs to any female deſcription; even of thoſe, who are hypocrites of its virtue, and traitreſſes to its charms. But it muſt be owned that the pride of prudery is proverbial, and the ſtilted affectation of outrageous virtue, which, ever ſince LEAR'S old time, "ſhrinks even at pleaſure's name," proudly ſpurning every publick advance of the tender paſſion, condeſcends humbly with Chriſtian charity, if legends lie not, to extend its private and promiſcuous benevolence.

Ambition and avarice would ſeem to be as remote in their nature, and as contradiſtinguiſhed in their principle and object, as any two diſpoſitions of the mind. Yet, however more brilliant the colours and *coſtume* of the one than of the other, they will be found wonderfully to approximate in their deſign and compoſition. In ſupport of this apparent paradox, the fact might be obſerved, of their often finding their place in the

the ſame breaſt. Two notable inſtances occur, in modern and ancient hiſtory, of equal avarice of military glory and private profit. The princely poſſeſſor of Blenheim, while he directed the ſtorm, and decided the fortune of war, was no leſs attentive to his own. He "ſaved a nation, and he ſaved a groat." Nor were the occaſioned attentions of his Grace's prototype, the victorious CRASSUS, leſs famous or certain. While his Roman eagles purſued the defeat, not a Roman in the ranks was more attentive to the plunder of the flying Parthian.

But without inſiſting on examples, let theſe leading qualities be fairly conſidered in the abſtract; and let the conſideration be diveſted of the glare which ſurrounds the one, and the prejudicial miſt that obſcures the other, diſtinction and pre-eminence are the objects of both; and ardent attention and unwearied perſeverance are their mutual principles. It is true, that the pre-eminence ambitioned by the one, and the diſtinction coveted by the other, are ſomewhat different in their ſpecific nature. But this is rather a nominal than a real objection

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to the poſition, and is founded more on accident than on any intrinſic or eſſential difference. If CHARLES of Sweden had been the ſon of a grocer in Cheapſide, his ambition might have been a *plum;* and the ſame genius which baffled PETER, and aſtoniſhed Europe, we may fairly preſume, would have ſucceeded round St. Paul's, and filled at leaſt the prætorian chair of London. "Let me ſtand on my caſh-cheſt," ſaid an ambitious little hero of the counting-houſe, "and I warrant you I will ſtand as high as the proudeſt ſtatue of them all." Had this knight of the ledger trailed a pike at Stockholm, inſtead of a pen in Lothbury, he would have been as attentive to glory in the one, as to credit in the other; and might have died at Pultowa, as comfortable as he lived at Dulwich.

Of other prominent paſſions of the mind, ſome future opportunity may occur to furniſh ſome diſcuſſion. In the mean time, I cannot diſmiſs this paper without obſervation of the two moſt active and intereſting in all the concerns of life.—Without the excellencies of MONTAIGNE, it would be unpar-

unpardonable to imitate only his defects; one of which, that he is moſt famous for, is a perfect inattention to the ſubject promiſed in his motto. Mine ſo elegantly deſcribes the relation between the ſeemingly contraſted paſſions of hope and fear, as to leave me little to add. An appeal to his own boſom will remind every feeling perſon of the anxiety of hope, of doubts invented by the ingenuity of affection, and magnified by ſenſibility into apprehenſion and fear.

It is remarkable, likewiſe, that the more ardent and anxious the hope may be, ſo muſt the attendant fear of loſing its object be more importunate. Can any anxiety equal that of the expectant lover, leſt any wayward accident of fate, envious of his bliſs, utterly unimagined, however, by any other mind, ſhould interfere between him and happineſs?

If ſuch be the proximity of the paſſions, let due conſideration be uſed to diſtinguiſh them, and candour to appreciate; and, if ſuch be their power, let proportionate care be exerted to regulate and direct them. Let it be remembered, according to the expreſ-

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ſive metaphor of our moral poet, that they are only "the gales of life," and let reaſon ſtand to the helm.

P.

NUMBER V.—TUESDAY, OCT. 8, 1793.

Percunctatorem fugito, namque idem garrulus eſt.

The curious ſhun, unleſs you wiſh to hear,
Your ſecret buzz'd from his to ev'ry ear.

MY DEAR MR. OBSERVER,

AS I am ſure you could not have ſo much knowledge without having a great deal of curioſity, I hope I ſhall find an able advocate in you, for the defence of that laudable and uſeful quality, which yet ſome dull and envious perſons affect to condemn. Is it not aſtoniſhing that any pedants can yet be found, in the eighteenth century; Mr. Obſerver, (if it be really the eighteenth, for you muſt know there is ſome doubt on that point, ſuggeſted by ſome curious reaſoners, who queſtion whether it can be fairly concluded!—

cluded!—What do you think, Mr. Obſerver?) but, whatever it be, is it not extraordinary that any one can perſiſt in the antiquated prejudice of the advantage of ſtudy, and the wiſdom to be found in muſty old books? It has always been my favourite maxim, that an acquaintance with men and things is a thouſand times more uſeful. Even Mr. Pope, though ſo great a writer of books, acknowledges, as Dick Shallow, from college, obſerved the other day, "the proper ſtudy of mankind is man."

I think it muſt be admitted, in candour, that real learning, as to any preſent purpoſe, is the knowledge of what is preſent and actually going forward, rather than of what is paſt and gone. What intereſt can we now have in inquiring into the conduct and converſation of old faſhioned anceſtors, who died two or three centuries ago? Eſpecially as there are many whom I cannot find, on the moſt curious inquiry I can make, to have had any anceſtors at all:—but in any caſe, what can the living have to do with the dead? Unleſs, perhaps, in an innocent interview now and then with a good-natured ghoſt,

ghoſt, that may come to ſatisfy a friend's curioſity. But what living ſatisfaction can one have, in any modern aſſembly, in diſcovering the ſecrets, even of a maid of honour, among the antiquated ruffs of old ELIZABETH's court?

Now, as you muſt no doubt have ſome curioſity, at leaſt about your curious correſpondent, and as I never keep my friends in ſuſpence on theſe occaſions, the following is my ſhort hiſtory.

The conſequence of my favourite maxim was not, as you may eaſily imagine, very favourable in my younger years, to my Greek and Latin:—but though I had little acquaintance with HELEN or DIDO, I was perfectly verſed in the hiſtory of every family in the neighbourhood. If my ſchoolmaſter made me ſuffer for my want of claſſical curioſity, I was amply rewarded, however, by the favour of ſome of my mother's female friends, eſpecially an old aunt, who took ſuch a tender concern in the intereſt of their neighbours, that they were quite unhappy if not acquainted with every thing that was done, ſaid, or whiſpered, among them.

them. My father, who was a reſpectable apothecary, and from whom I derived probably ſome ingredients of my curious diſpoſition, was very anxious that I ſhould acquire Latin enough to improve on his *Materia Medica*, and purſue the more learned profeſſion of phyſick.

Excepting a total ignorance of the profeſſion, and an abſence of all learning derived from reading, ſome of my friends flattered me that I was tolerably well qualified:—but the two objections I mention, appearing to have ſome weight, I was indulged by my father in the purſuit of my favourite maxim, and commenced my ſtudies of men and things. Notwithſtanding many difficulties and mortifications, which you know all ſtudies are ſubject to in the outſet, I proceeded with tolerable ſucceſs; till being perhaps a little too much encouraged in my own opinion, I began to extend the circle of my lucubrations. Then, Sir, I began to find an extraordinary effect of my own advanced knowledge. In proportion as my thirſt of learning increaſed, I found myſelf in new difficulties and embarraſſments. How often

has my head narrowly escaped being broken, only for popping it into some friendly place of retirement, that I might know a little of what my friends were doing. I was at one time taken up for a spy, when I was only listening to some family anecdotes of a clerk of the treasury; and at another, I was near being sent to Newgate, as a shop-lifter, or house-breaker, only because I was lurking about the door of a banker, who had stopped payment, that I might learn some of the particulars from the servants:—and, I find marvellously of late, that most companies, on my appearance among them, are as silent as a quaker's meeting: a gentleman would not even answer me, a few days ago, when I asked him, if his wife's grandfather had not been a shoe-maker?

Still, Mr. Observer, I am not discouraged in my maxim, though I confess I cannot say from experience, that this inquisitive pursuit of other people's affairs is a *curiosa felicitas:*—but, perhaps, there may be some safer medium to adopt—between the old dead letter of learning, which I cannot endure with patience; and the living spirit of curiosity,

curioſity, which I find I cannot indulge with ſafety.

I ſhall be very curious to know your opinion, and remain,

Mr. Obſerver,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

KITT QUIZ.

P.

☞ The Obſerver is much flattered, both by the favour of his friend, Mr. Quiz's correſpondence, and the ingenuity of his inquiries. For the former, he is no leſs curious than Mr. Q. for its continuance; as to the latter, it would require more time than the preſent preſs of buſineſs can permit, or the buſineſs of the preſs afford, to point out the medium in detailed accommendation, that Mr. Quiz requires.

The Obſerver takes the liberty of ſuggeſting in general, that by a careful peruſal of magazines and reviews, he may indulge curioſity, and avoid perſonal impertinence; and be perfectly ſecure from what he ſo much deprecates, learned reſearch and ſcientifical acquirement.

With much pleaſure and many thanks, the Obſerver accepts and favours his readers with the following letter.

Stemmata quid faciunt. JUVENAL.

It was once aſſerted, by that great moraliſt and ſhrewd obſerver of men and manners, Dr. JOHNSON, that, "there is generally a ſcoundreliſm about a low man." Taking for granted, that by a *low man* he meant a man of low birth and education, I cannot poſſibly be pleaſed with his harſh aſſertion. This would be, indeed, to make the amiable virtues, which ſo highly adorn human nature, to be inherent in the children of elevated rank, and honour; and integrity to be hereditary.—Nothing can be more pernicious than to hold ſuch unfavourable notions of human nature, as to place its higheſt advantages in thoſe extrinſick ornaments, which are calculated only to raiſe the pride of the high-born and affluent, into arrogance, and to check the ſpirit of emulation in the children of poverty.

To beſtow the odious term of ſcoundrel upon a man, merely becauſe he has derived no caſual honours from his anceſtors, is to make nature arbitrary, and to ſubject the inferior

inferior claſſes of mankind to a ſtate of abject dependence, and even ſlavery, to the higher.

Engaged pretty much with the lower orders of man, I muſt do them the juſtice to ſay, that I have more frequently found among them hearts animated with the pureſt ſenſibility, and minds directed by the nobleſt principles of honour, than among thoſe that would fain arrogate thoſe fine qualities entirely to themſelves.

My valuable friend, Arnulphus, is one of thoſe, who owes what he is and poſſeſſeth, to his indefatigable induſtry and juſt dealing. Though born and bred in the low walk of life, unacquainted with the arts of elegant refinement and poliſhed manners; unbleſt with any other education than what was juſt ſufficient to enable him to carry on buſineſs; and ſurrounded with a variety of difficulties, originating from the want of fortune and friends, he ventured into trade; and, by perſevering in a regular line of conduct, guiding himſelf by the principles of prudence and honour, he has raiſed himſelf to a ſtate of independence, and gained a credit

credit diffuſed and unblemiſhed, much more honourable than that which derives itſelf from high birth and elevation of rank. His private manners have been ſo uniformly affable and unaffected, his appearance, and that of his family, ſo unoſtentatious, and yet becoming his circumſtances, that he has obtained univerſal reſpect; ſo that none but the worthleſs are ſhy of being eſteemed Arnulphus's friends. For my part, I conſider, and I hope I ſhall always conſider, it as one of the chief pleaſures of my life, to be connected with this truly worthy character in the ties of the cloſeſt intimacy and friendſhip. However greatly I eſteem the company of thoſe elevated characters, who condeſcend to honour me with their regard, and the converſation of the literati, who favour me with their acquaintance and familiarity; yet the company and converſe of my Arnulphus, are much more agreeable. With him I can be free and unreſerved; and though not verſed in learned lore, and the affairs of the polite world, yet his obſervations, the produce of native good ſenſe and a ſtrong underſtanding, upon men and things,

things, afford me more ſolid improvement, and real entertainment, than I generally meet with in the circles of the genteel and wiſe.

Now, ſhould the peremptory unproved aſſertion of the great moraliſt, direct any perſon's notice of, or behaviour, towards ſuch a character as that of Arnulphus?

The pride of birth and affluence may, indeed, ſwell againſt the induſtrious founder and erector of his own fortune, and condemn him on account of the obſcurity of his origin; but the more liberal-minded and intelligent obſerver of human life, will yield a much greater ſhare of real reſpect to men of Arnulphus's character, than to thoſe who have little elſe to boaſt of, but thoſe adventitious circumſtances which have not a ſingle particle of merit attached to them.

Viewing the general number of reſpectable diſtinguiſhed characters in India, we ſhall find, I believe, that by far the majority were, originally, what is termed of low extraction; and in every place where induſtry meets with that reſpect as to entitle the worthy induſtrious member of the com-

munity to general favour, the commercial men are moſt commonly obſerved to be guided by principles of honour and integrity.

The aſſertion, then, which I have thus thought proper to condemn, muſt be conſidered as degrading of human nature, contrary to reaſon and experience, and highly unworthy of the venerable character who uttered it; whoſe own example was its beſt confutation, and whoſe works have been of the moſt ſignal ſervice to the intereſts of virtue and literature, and will remain the perpetual honour of the Engliſh nation and language.

I am,

Mr. Obſerver,

A FRIEND TO INTRINSICK MERIT.

NUMBER VI.—OCTOBER 15, 1793.

Gaudia, diſcurſus:——JUVENAL.

The joys of reaſon and the joys of ſenſe. POPE.

THE *ci-devant* gay and airy neighbours of Great-Britain conceived a diſtinction contraſting the human faculties, more happy in expreſſion than any I recollect in our vocabulary, in their *La Phyſique* and *La Morale.* It is by due attention to theſe grand conſtituents of our nature, that the happineſs of the whole is conſulted and ſecured. And it appears, that the partial ſect of philoſophers, who in their reſpective definitions of the *Summum Bonum*, or *Chief Good*, regarding only one or the other, gave a very imperfect conſideration to the queſtion. Certainly, if it were merely a ſubject of compariſon, there could be little heſitation on the point of preference to whatever relates to the mental faculties and qualities of the ſoul. Not only the gentle and qualified doctrine of the Platoniſts, but even the rigid and ruthleſs

ruthleſs virtue of ZENO; not alone the elegant wiſdom of thoſe literary ſages, who placed their chief happineſs in the delights of learning, but even the ſtudious doubts and perplexities of the Pyrrhoniſt, muſt be admitted to be of nobler nature, and directed to worthier objects, than any ſenſual ſyſtem of the Epicurean ſchool.

But unfortunately, all ſects and ſectaries are too much attached to their particular ſyſtems, and there is generally as little toleration in the reaſonings of philoſophers, as in the polemicks of religioniſts. The accompliſhed TULLY himſelf, deſcends from his eloquent roſtrum to the diſputing ſchool, and becomes almoſt a railer againſt the ſtern and ſtoical tenets of CATO. A coalition between the orator and the patriot would have perfected the conſtitution of philoſophy, and produced what the Roman poet better imagined, and what is ſo comprehenſively expreſſed by our own,

"*The joys of reaſon and the joys of ſenſe.*"

Some of my readers will recollect to have ſeen in ROUSSEAU, and perhaps to have heard

heard ſometimes in argument, the diſcuſſion of the important queſtion—how theſe rationally united pleaſures are beſt to be attained in the intercourſe of ſociety. The diſtinction will readily occur, that this queſtion does not intend a compariſon of the different gaieties and amuſements of life, but relates to the manners and circumſtances of ſocial converſe.

The partiality which men generally feel for the cuſtoms of their own country, would lead to quick deciſion on a ſubject, of which the ſeveral parts are in a great degree characteriſtick of different countries. The gravity and ſobriety of a Spaniard would be as little reconciled to the hilarity and convivial enjoyment of an Engliſh table, as the vivacity and gallantry of a Frenchman to the Dutch phlegm, or that heavineſs of character which they have proverbialiſed in their German neighbours, *lourd comme un allemand.* But as there are ſub-diviſions of manners in each country, and claſſes of diſpoſition in each, differing from the patriotic character, ſo there will be differences of opinion on this ſubject in the ſame ſociety.

The

The French-Dutchman will, equally with the Parisian, condemn the Belgic manners and comparatively unsoftened society; and there may be an English-Spaniard, who will condescend from the dignity of reserve and retirement, and come into the social pleasures of life.

It is evident that the English and French manners bear a much nearer resemblance than those of any other two countries; but even in them a very considerable difference was to be found in the leading traits of character, and conduct of society. In France, attention to the *sex* was an universal principle, and governed in a great measure, through all situations and degrees. If the Salique law excluded females from the crown, they were amply recompensed by the laws of manners and fashion, which conceded to them every thing else: without them there was no society; they were the pleasure of all parties, the objects of general regard, and the arbitresses of taste;—and if the consideration here were not confined to manners in society, it might be added, that female influence has been often felt, unfortunately perhaps,

perhaps, too much, in the higher ſphere of politicks in France.

Whether this general attention to the ſex were overſtrained or not in that country, it is certain that in England it has not prevailed in the ſame degree. Inſtead of the conſtant accompaniments at the *promenade*, and even the *toilette*, the *petit ſouper*, and all the parties; the pleaſures of the *chaſe*, or *courſe*, if in the country, of *politicks*, if in town, and of the *table* in both, ſeparate the ſexes for at leaſt ſome part of the day. The very idea of a *club*, where honeſt John Bull paſſes ſo many hours with his neighbours, was unknown in France; and the Engliſh name, which they have adopted, makes rather an aukward figure in its new dreſs—*les clubs*.

There can be no doubt of the reciprocal advantage, as well as happineſs, in their mutual ſociety: but it is perhaps equally certain, from the difference of their qualities by nature, that their purſuits and manners, and many of their pleaſures in ſociety, ought to be different. The ladies ought to leave to the gentlemen the ſix-barred gate, the

the political debate, and the battle; and the attendance of the gentlemen might be dispenſed with at the toilette:—On the other hand, they ought not to ſacrifice either buſineſs or health, to reaſon or Bacchus. They ought to enjoy on reflection the ſocial hour, ſacred to friendſhip; and to mix with convivial pleaſure,

"The feaſt of reaſon and the flow of ſoul."

The apprehenſion of the abuſe, is often a reaſon for diſſuading the uſe: but, I apprehend, it will not require much ingenuity to diſprove the conſequence. Let the ſubject in queſtion be tried by ROUSSEAU's rule and reaſoning, and I believe the judgment will be in favour of the Engliſh cuſtom, of men dedicating at leaſt ſome time to ſocial converſe with each other.

"*The rule of choice,*" *he ſays,* "*is ſimple.* "*When the good exceeds the evil, the ſubject* "*ought to be admitted, notwithſtanding its* "*inconveniences; when the evil exceeds the* "*good, it muſt be rejected, even with its ad-* "*vantages:*"—And in diſcuſſions of the advantages and diſadvantages of the ſocial circles

circles *(Les Cercles)* of his favourite Geneva, the eloquent philoſopher proceeds to give the following opinion, with which, without preſuming to give any of my own, I ſhall conclude this paper.

" * Every intemperance is vicious, and " eſpecially that which deprives us of the " nobleſt of our faculties. Exceſs of wine " degrades the man; it renders him at firſt " an idiot, and at laſt a brute: but, after " all, the taſte of wine is not in itſelf a " crime, nor is it often the cauſe of crimes. " It attacks the reaſon, not the heart †; " and for one tranſient quarrel that it pro-

* Lettre de J. J. ROUSSEAU a M. ALEMBERT, ſur les ſpectacles.

† Let us not calumniate even faults. Is not this in " itſelf ſufficiently diſguſting? But wine, inſtead of in- " ſpiring wickedneſs, diſcovers it. He who ſlew CLYTUS " in a drunken fit, killed PHILOTAS in cool blood. If " drunkenneſs has its mad exceſſes, are not all the paſ- " ſions guilty of theirs? The difference is, that the " former blazes, and is extinguiſhed in an inſtant, while " the others lie hid in the bottom of the ſoul. Except- " ing the ſudden and tranſient guſt of rage, which is " eaſily avoided, be ſure that he who commits wicked " actions when drunk, hatches wicked deſigns when " ſober."

duces,

" duces, it forms an hundred laſting attach-
" ments.—Generally ſpeaking, drinkers of
" wine are frank and cordial:—they are
" almoſt univerſally good ſouls; and, ex-
" cepting their failing, correct, juſt, faith-
" ful, brave, and honeſt fellows. Can as
" much be ſaid for the vices, ſubſtituted in
" its ſtead? Or will any one pretend to
" render a whole city a faultleſs race, and
" correct in every thing? How many
" ſeeming virtues are often the cloak of
" vices? The wiſe man is ſober from tem-
" perance, the rogue by deſign.—In coun-
" tries of flagitious manners, of intrigues,
" treaſons, and adulteries, the guilty dread
" an unguarded ſtate, where the heart is
" ſhewn without diſguiſe or care; and it is
" an univerſal truth, that thoſe who have
" the greateſt horror of exceſs in drinking,
" are they who have the greateſt intereſt in
" guarding againſt it. It is liked at Geneva,
" and abhorred at Naples; but at bottom,
" which is the more dangerous, the intem-
" perance of the Swiſs, or the reſerve of
" the Italian?"

P.

NUMBER

NUMBER VII.—OCTOBER 22, 1793.

Ut pictura, poesis. HORACE.

Like painting, poetry.

THE obſervation of Mr. LOCKE will hardly be controverted, when he remarks, that neither the diffuſeneſs of deſcription, nor exactitude of definition, can convey to the mind ſo perfect an idea, as the actual exhibition to the ſenſes of the ſubject itſelf;—and the opinion of HORACE, in his critical epiſtle to the Piſos, is well known; that the mind cannot be affected in ſo lively and ſenſible a manner through the ſlow channel of the ear, as by the faithful impreſſion of the ſight.

Two ſo high authorities muſt have great weight in the conſideration of any queſtion; and their opinions would ſeem to concur, if applied in the compariſon in the arts of Poetry and Painting, to give a preference to the livelier charms of the younger ſiſter, as more expreſſive and engaging:—yet it is

not, I believe, certain that ſuch is the deciſion; nor perhaps will the opinions that have been quoted apply fully to the whole queſtion, of the comparative excellence of the rival arts. The remarks of the philoſopher and the critick, are evidently correct, as to the material object that can be immediately ſubmitted to the ſenſe; but they may not be applicable to the ideal ſubjects or qualities, which conſtitute the ſublime province of the art, both of the poet and the painter. The perſonal perfections of ACHILLES might be more accurately delineated by the latter, than they could be by any poetical deſcription; but it may be a queſtion, whether even the pencil of APELLES could array him in the ſublimity of character which diſtinguiſhes the hero of HOMER.

Illuſtration of one ſubject by another has always been found the moſt pleaſing, and therefore the moſt ſucceſsful mode of explanation, if not fancifully and too far purſued. It is not by the diſcovery of a fortuitous reſemblance, which may deceive and miſlead, but by obſervation of a general parallel

lel tenour, that the knowledge of one ſubject conduces to the inveſtigation of another:—and in no two inſtances, perhaps, is the parallel more real and founded in nature, than in the two elegant arts which are the ſubject of my motto. Their objects are the ſame, to record the actions and paſſions of men, and to deſcribe their motives. Equally the vehicles of ſentiment, the one arreſts the flying word, and gives body to thought, while the other catches the tranſient glance, and fixes the character. The ſame qualities and powers of mind are requiſite to both; taſte for the beautiful and ſublime of nature, and for the elegance of art; judgment to ſelect ſubjects and circumſtances, and learning and ſtudy to heighten and adorn them; fancy to amplify and illuſtrate; and, above all, genius to create.

On the other hand, ſome remarkable points of difference occur, but not important to the eſſence of the ſubject; or rather it is on them that the ſubject of compariſon is founded. Painting conveys her ideas by ſigns furniſhed by nature herſelf, which are therefore conſtant, immutable, and ſtrike

the intelligence at the firſt glance; while the ſentiments of Poetry, on the contrary, are communicated by arbitrary ſounds and characters; the impreſſions on the mind from Painting are therefore more forcible and general; they are felt by moſt who can ſee, but thoſe of Poetry are more various and comprehenſive: and if they do not ſtrike with ſuch ſudden and inſtantaneous effect, they fill the mind with more ſucceſſion, and carry it without controul through time and ſpace. For it is the privilege of immortal verſe to paſs the bounds which ſeem to limit other arts; commanding the paſt and future to attend the preſent; and, ſcorning the bounded reign of exiſtence, to explore the realms of chaos, and imagine new worlds.

The painter, in his ſcene of action, being confined not only to a point of time, but to one place, is under the neceſſity of expreſſing all his ideas at once. His hiſtory, however comprehenſive, muſt be told in one page; his heroes, however intereſting, and their various characters, muſt be deſcribed in a ſentence; and the whole muſt be comprehended at one view: which, if it fail

fail of inſtant effect, has no reſource in change of ſcene, or in the reinforcement of more judicious variety. He is obliged to bring up all his forces at one attack, and to riſk his fate on a ſingle charge.

The poet, in his continued work, has the varied advantage of what the great critick deſcribes in his rule for an epick poem, 'a beginning, a middle, and an end.' If the ſimplicity of narrative fatigue, the vivacity of action ſucceeds to animate the reader's attention: if his ſenſibility be affected, even to pain, by the exquiſite diſtreſs of ANDROMACHE, with her infant HECTOR, in her almoſt widowed arms, he follows the hero to the battle, and ſees the plumed helmet, which had frightened the child, towering through the hoſtile ranks. Even though "old HOMER ſhould ſometimes ſlumber," as the Roman critick remarks, he fails not to recover ſoon with renovated wing, to reſume the flight of genius, or purſue the courſe of wiſdom.

Such being the comparative advantage of the poet, the queſtion is, whether the reſpective ſuperiority of the painter, in gene-

ral and inſtant effect, be ſufficient to counterbalance it, and to give him on the whole equal ſway over the mind. In this a diſtinction muſt be obſerved, as to the talents and taſte that are to be effected by the rival arts. To enjoy the beauties of Poetry, a more refined and cultivated underſtanding would appear to be neceſſary, than is required to feel the effect of a fine picture. A very elegant writer on this admirable art, remarks, that "*what* TULLY *obſerves of an excellent orator, may be as juſtly ſaid of an excellent painter; his ſuperiority will be evident to the leaſt intelligent judges.*"

Indeed, the orator himſelf, recommending his favourite theme, in his ſpeech for his friend ARCHIAS, the poet, ſays, that "*all polite and claſſical arts have a certain common connexion, and are held together, as it were, by a natural relation.*" Evidently, however, the means by which they addreſs the ſame paſſions, are different: but the more direct and obvious the means, it follows, that the effect will be the more ſudden, and at firſt more ſtrong. The eye interprets inſtantly to the mind, the ideas repreſented by ſigns

and

and characters of nature herſelf; but a certain effort of underſtanding is required to aſſiſt the operation of arbitrary marks and ſounds. To prove the effect of Painting more general, as well as more impreſſive, the fact is, every man has an eye to be pleaſed; but, on the other hand, there are certainly ſome, it is to be hoped not many, who

"*Have no muſick in their ſouls;*"

and more, perhaps, who are utterly indifferent to the charms of Poetry; which, it may be obſerved, is peculiarly allied to Muſick.

On the natural relation of the arts, ſeems to be founded the critical rule recommended by Mr. ADDISON, which would ſave many poor ideas the torture they ſuffer from unmerciful imaginations. He adviſes to try the poetical image by the painter's art; and never to admit a metaphor in writing, which would not have a natural and pleaſing effect on canvas. It is amuſing to apply this rule to ſome of the "fuſtian ſo ſublimely bad," that uſed to cut ſuch figures in Grub-ſtreet. For to do juſtice to modern genius,

its

its exceſſes ſeem to be in the other extreme, with its modeſt brethren; POPE's worthies of Fleet-Ditch,

"*Sinking ſublimely deeper in the mud.*"

I cannot conclude this paper, as an Indian Obſerver, without the pleaſure of adverting to the approaching union of the arts which have been the ſubject of it. The Theatre is the choſen temple where this happy union is moſt intimately formed; and it is with ſincere ſatisfaction that every admirer of elegant amuſement muſt regard the revival of theatrical entertainments in this ſociety, where they have flouriſhed with peculiar ſucceſs.

P.

NUMBER VIII.—NOV. 12, 1793.

Pour moi, j'ai peine à concevoir comment on rend aſſez peu d'honneur aux femmes, pour leur oſer adreſſer ſans ſeſſe ces fades propos galans, ces complimens inſultans et moqueurs, auxquels on ne daigne pas même donner un air de bonne foi;—les outrager par ces évidens menſonges, n'eſt ce pas leur declarer aſſez nettement qu'on ne trouve aucune verité obligeante a leur dire? ROUSSEAU: à d'ALEMBERT.

For my part, I can hardly imagine how men pay ſo little reſpect to women, as to dare to addreſs them continually with theſe inſipid topicks of gallantry; with theſe compliments of inſult and mockery, to which they do not deign to give even the ſemblance of ſincerity. Thus to outrage their underſtanding with evident falſehoods, what is it but a pretty plain declaration that it is impoſſible to tell them any truth in their favour?

I AM not a little flattered by the ſucceſs of a few hints that lately appeared in The Obſerver, relative to the diſpoſition and enjoyment of time in ſociety; and I am the more ſo, as the ſubject has been honoured by the attention of that part of ſociety which conſtitutes its higheſt happineſs.

It

It ſeems, that the conſideration having been ſuggeſted in a fair circle of friends, from what appeared in the paper alluded to, the converſation naturally turned on their own time and amuſements, rather than on thoſe of the gentlemen; and as my obliging communicant acquaints me, the courſe of it was, as might alſo be expected, influenced in ſome degree by the reſpective ſituations and qualities of the fair ſpeaker; ſo that a critical obſerver might collect the character from the argument, and from the glance of a propoſition diſcover whether the fair reaſoner were married or ſingle, young or old, learned or handſome.

But, as I am bound to ſecrecy on the particulars of the diſcuſſion, I ſhall make no further obſervation on the taſte and eloquence which always diſtinguiſh a *Belle Aſſemblée* from any other; but will proceed, according to the requeſt I am honoured with, in conſequence of ſome points remaining undecided, to endeavour to furniſh ſome additional hints on the important ſubject of the beſt œconomy and diſpoſal of female time.

Impartiality

Impartiality is, in all diſcuſſions, eſſential to truth; and conſequently, to any advantages that can be hoped from inveſtigation. On the preſent ſubject, however, it is perhaps moſt difficult to be preſerved. A certain irreſiſtible bias in favour of the object of inquiry always prepoſſeſſes the inquirer to ſee failings in the moſt favourable point of view; and to regard merits and charms in the moſt exalted proportion. The auſtereſt examiner cannot wholly diveſt himſelf of this partiality; for nature is more powerful than philoſophy. And this conſideration alone might be an argument of ſufficient encouragement to the female mind, to add the little that is required to complete and confirm its power, of contributing to ſocial happineſs. I would not be underſtood to inculcate, either, on the part of the men, that indiſcriminate and romantick ſpirit of admiration, which is too often ſubſtituted to real taſte for female ſociety; nor to the ladies, that predominant paſſion of *being admired*, which ſometimes neglects the means of rendering their ſociety worthy of being ſo; but ſurely the facility with which

which they have the advantage of being enabled to effect that grand purpoſe, from the prediſpoſition of Nature in their favour, ought to be an incitement to them to purſue and ſecure it. It is theirs, in a conſiderable degree at leaſt, provided by the polite ordinance of Nature herſelf, to receive as a tribute, what men can acquire only by effort. But it is to be remembered, that the tribute is to be received, not extorted; nor be expected, except according to the laws of ſociety, which always require reciprocation of advantage: and, whatever the fancies of poetry may ſuggeſt, will equally condemn the *unreaſonable* deſpotiſm of a beauty at her toilet, or of a tyrant on his throne.

The moſt rigid male philoſopher muſt allow what general conſent has eſtabliſhed as a proverbial truth, that the *powers* of converſation are more ready and more pleaſing in the female ſex than in his own. The ſame conſent concurs to concede to them, ſuperior faculty in what may be conſidered a companion to the other, epiſtolary compoſition; which in its beſt ſtyle, that is in their

their elegant hands, may be regarded as manuſcript converſation.

Evidently, therefore, nature calls on thoſe favourites of her creation, for the return ſhe has a right to expect from their gratitude, and for their happineſs, in her great family of *ſociety* to which ſhe recommends them. But as converſation forms one of its principal pleaſures, and moſt conſtantly in enjoyment; and as they are endowed with ſuperior qualities to excel, vivacity tempered by delicacy in the natural conſtitution of their mind, what injuſtice to themſelves, and the ſocieties they were deſigned to bleſs, if they neglect the means and the materials? Without them, the power is evidently uſeleſs. The Athenian artiſt could not have delighted the world with the charms of the Medicean Venus, if the marble of Paros had been wanting. ARCHIMEDES could have moved the world, if he could have found the means of applying his powers to it. Female power is not leſs efficient, when furniſhed with the materials of knowledge; and when ſtudious of the true pleaſure of pleaſing, it exerciſes proper

proper means of reading and obſervation, to acquire them.

Firſt, then, on the ſubject of occupation of female time, it would appear that books ought to have a diſtinguiſhed place. And, as it may be advanced as an indubitable maxim, that both the advantage and entertainment of reading depend more on the author than on his profeſſed ſubject, it might perhaps be laid down as a rule in conſequence, that in the choice of books none ſhould be found on the ſhelves of the young female reader, unleſs with the name of ſome approved author to give them ſanction. This obſervance would exclude the whole family of anonymous ſtory books, commonly called *novels;* from the multitude and inelegance of which, and above all, their affected and falſe ſenſibility, it is wonderful that ſo many fair readers ſhould eſcape unhurt. Nothing can be a greater compliment to their original purity of mind and natural elegancy, than being proof againſt ſo much intercourſe with companions ſo unworthy of them.

If

If I might be indulged with leave to ſuggeſt the ſubject of reading, which appears to unite the uſeful and the pleaſing more than any other, I ſhould point to the muſe whom Mr. ADDISON ſelected for his ſignature to the Spectator; the muſe of hiſtory. CLIO unites all the intereſt of her ſiſter muſes of the drama, with the maxims of truth, and doctrines of philoſophy; whoſe precepts, in her ſacred page, are recommended and fortified by the moſt brilliant examples, from the real drama of the world. PLUTARCH, it may be preſumed, will be found more inſtructive, and not leſs entertaining, than the lives and loves of a circulating library. The death of ARRIA with her huſband, is ſurely as intereſting, and at leaſt as moral, as the motley exit of ELOISA, lamenting her lover, and careleſs of her lord. Or, to come to examples nearer the preſent manners, is not the fourth HENRY of France as reſpectable a rake as any noble *Rué de Paris;* and was not our own Sir PHILIP SYDNEY as accompliſhed a knight as even Sir CHARLES GRANDISON?

ROLLIN

ROLLIN, who was no leſs a critick of taſte than an hiſtorian of eminence, has proved how much the latter capacity contributed to the former. His *Belle Aſſemblée* owed much to his *Hiſtoire Ancienne;* and certainly the ſubject received reflected advantage from the charms of the diſcuſſion. Never indeed can knowledge appear ſo lovely, as when adorned with female elegance; nor ever are the attractions of the ſex ſo irreſiſtible, as when beauty is refined by underſtanding.

P.

NUMBER IX.—DEC. 3, 1793.

Effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum. OVID.

Then gold's dug up, the ſource of every ill.

HAVING taken occaſion, in ſome of my periodical obſervations, to animadvert on the mode of employing time, I had the ſatisfaction

faction a few evenings ago of hearing the ſubject brought into conſideration in a company of gentlemen well qualified to judge.

As the reſult of the diſcuſſion was, that it would be a good ſubject for *an Obſerver*, I have been induced to a recollection of what paſſed; the ſpirit of which I do not know that I can more agreeably give, than by alluſion to the characteriſtick titles of the perſonages who compoſed the immortal club of the *Spectator*: as it happened fortunately that the company conſiſted, though on a ſmaller ſcale, (my friends will excuſe me), of many of the profeſſional characters that conſtituted that diſtinguiſhed ſociety.

I muſt premiſe, as a proof of the freedom and impartiality with which the converſation flowed, unclogged by any proſpect or apprehenſion of its appearing in print, that my *ſhort face* was by no means ſo readily recognized as that of the illuſtrious author, whoſe perſonages I preſume to borrow.

The gentleman who began the ſubject, we will take the liberty to diſtinguiſh by the name of Colonel Sentry: who, though

he had not fought in the campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough, was not unknown to the ſervice; and who has enjoyed much of his life with thoſe who were an honour to that honourable profeſſion. He appeared to have rather more years and experience than ſome of his friends near him; which obtained him their obliging and friendly attention.

" Few things have ſurprized me more," ſaid the Colonel, " than the univerſal *ſpirit of play* which I have obſerved to prevail in all ranks and profeſſions of men; even ſome of thoſe which are generally reputed the moſt reſpectable. Trade, for inſtance, ſeems often to partake deeply of it; or, indeed, to be nearly congenial. Happily, improper examples of either occur rarely in this country; you will give me leave, therefore, to appeal to old England, where you muſt remember to have ſeen old gamblers tottering to the Alley and to 'Change, with as eager anxiety, and on as hazardous hope, as animates the young ſpendthrift in St. James's-ſtreet; while the coachmen and footmen of both are as buſy

in

in their ſubordinate ſtrain, in the lobby or the ale-houſe, engaging for leſs, though not leſs engaged, than their maſters. Not intending, however, to take the queſtion on too wide a ground, let us obſerve the effects of this paſſion on ſocial manners. In that point of view, without any over-ſtrained compliment to our preſent ſociety, let us only ſuppoſe an impartial perſon, or a well-informed man if you will, to conſider the manner in which we paſs our evening; and to compare it with the faſhionable mode in which a ſet of people, for I cannot conſent to give them the name either of company or ſociety, form themſelves into hoſtile array, make ready with their purſes and bank-notes, draw up round the gaming-table, for mutual plunder, and carry on the civil war. For my own part, I have ſo much inſtruction from my friends, Sir Andrew Freeport, and the Templar, and ſo much elegant knowledge of the *bon ton* from my neighbour," (William Honeycomb returned a moſt polite bow), "that I would not exchange my preſent advantage for the happineſs of winning a thouſand pounds,

even from the beſt friend I have in the world."

When Mr. Honeycomb obſerved that the Colonel had completely concluded his remark, (for, however impatient he was to reply, no temptation could induce him to any thing like interruption;) "I am as much ſurprized," ſaid he, "as my friend the Colonel can be; but not on the ſame ground. I am aſtoniſhed, I confeſs, that a perſon of his *ſçavoir vivre, un homme du monde,* can entertain ſuch antediluvian ideas. Aſſuredly the compliment he has been pleaſed to expreſs to our ſociety, demands in juſtice more than a return on our part; for nothing, certainly, can be more our advantage than hearing him. It is, as *Spec.* ſays, ſhortly, but emphatically, *utile dulce.* But I hope our friend will have the goodneſs to remember the pleaſure of variety; which, though I do not pretend to be a profound logician, I ſuppoſe is the ſame thing as variety of pleaſure. Sameneſs of enjoyment, whatever be the ſubject, muſt pall upon the ſenſe, as an elegant author has it; and muſt terminate in that moſt ſhocking of all ſenſations, or, if I may be allowed

allowed to ſay, no ſenſation, *ennui.* On the contrary, after edifying on the diſcuſſion of revenues and commerce of this mighty country, and admiring the military glories of our gallant heroes, and their graceful laurels; how delightful to change the ſcene! —to enjoy the quick return of the revenues of *Vingt-un,* and the fluctuation of commerce, at the card-table?"

"I beg pardon," interfered Sir Andrew, "I ſhould not have interrupted Mr. Honeycomb's wit, (another bow) if his alluſion to commerce had not reminded me of a remark that the Colonel began with; which, indeed, I thought a little extraordinary from a man of my friend's ſenſe and experience. That the ſpirit of trade ſhould be confounded with the ſpirit of gambling, I confeſs I did not expect to hear brought forward in account, at the cloſe of the eighteenth century. When the credit of the nation ſtands higher, and by the ſame rule the intereſt of money falls lower, both at home and abroad, than at any other period, and when theſe great points have been effected in proportion as trade has been extended, I deſire that the queſtion

queſtion may be fairly balanced. And it might be left on that ſtatement, without going into any items of calculation. But if, beſides, the different qualities of the ſubjects be conſidered; if it be recollected that commerce civilizes and harmonizes mankind, unites the different and diſtant nations of the globe into one great whole, and while it relieves the wants of the moſt barbarous, multiplies the enjoyments of the moſt refined, I truſt that no fair arbitrator will bring the nature of trade on the debit ſide, without at leaſt adding, errors excepted."

The Templar, who loved a game at whiſt, took advantage of Sir Andrew's pauſe, to enter his plea in favour of his clients of the card-club. "Although," ſaid the learned advocate, "I am infinitely obliged by the complimentary opening of the Colonel, I muſt beg leave to differ from him in the unqualified extent with which he has laid down his principle. The caſe appears to me to lie in a nut-ſhell, and to be merely this; whether the great ſyſtem of ſociety is to be held an excluſive company of gravé reaſoners, prohibiting every amuſement as contraband;

band; or whether an appeal will not ſometimes lie from the common law of converſation, to the chancery of play; or ſtill more directly, perhaps, to the equity and practice of the Houſe of Lords. It may be conſidered whether ſuch prohibition of cards be not trenching on Magna Charta, and ultimately affecting even the liberty of the preſs. Reſtraint of the ingenuity of the mind, in one inſtance, may grow into precedent for checking it in others: and in the caſe of cards, I aver, on the laws of calculation, there are as many moot points as can occur in the courts. Not to take up too much of your time, I ſhall only cite one. It is from the higheſt authority; *Hoyle's Reports*, p. 59. A. and C. *verſus* B. and D.—a caſe as curious as any I have met with on the doctrine of dower, or even on the ſubject of laſt wills and teſtaments.—Spades trumps. A. leads the ten: B. plays the deuce:—"

—The Colonel could contain no longer. —"Gentlemen, you give me no quarter. I might have ſtood my ground againſt Honeycomb's light troops, or even Sir Andrew's charge; but I muſt demand a parley, againſt the

the learned battery juſt opened; which, inſtead of nut-ſhells, as was promiſed, attacks me with the heavieſt *canon-law* I have ever experienced. But I ſtill ſhould rely on the generoſity of my enemy; and I truſt, if the grounds of my argument were fairly underſtood, you would ceaſe hoſtilities."—The company obſerving the Colonel look a little grave, preſſed him to proceed:—he did, as follows:

"I hope it could not be ſeriouſly underſtood, that in the opinion I offered it was intended to include any of the caſes that have been ſuppoſed. Moroſe, indeed, muſt be the cynick, who would cenſure with any ſeverity the innocent relaxation from graver ſubjects, which is found in the gay and elegant circles to which Mr. Honeycomb ſo happily contributes; where the ſacredneſs of female ſociety precludes any poſſible exceſs; or in the ſocial club of my learned friend, from whence, if we may judge from the ſpecimen he has given us of A. and B. the eloquence of the bar ſeems by no means excluded. But how could my worthy friend on the other ſide of the table,

ſuppoſe any alluſion to the honourable merchant, when I pointed to the practices of the *pſeudo-trader*. In illuſtration of the juſt eulogium he has pronounced on his reſpectable profeſſion, I am ſure he will give me leave to quote Lord CHATHAM's ſtigma on thoſe who depreciate and diſgrace it. "I mean "not, my Lords, thoſe muck-worms of "the Alley and vultures of the Exchange, "who creep in the dirt of clandeſtine con-"tracts, or fatten on the carrion of cor-"ruption; thoſe pickpockets of the publick, "who play with the property of the ſtate-"creditor, and ſport with the mite of the "widow, and the orphan's pittance; thoſe "ſwindlers of the ſtate, who ſell what they "are not poſſeſſed of, and purchaſe what "they cannot pay for; I ſpeak, my Lords, "of the honeſt and induſtrious merchant, "whoſe upright conduct is alike the ho-"nour and ſupport of his country; whoſe "ſhips are ſeen wherever ſeas can bear, "or winds can waft them; the various "ſtreams of whoſe commerce, returning in "full tides of wealth, water the country "with opulence."

"The

"The desire of gain, it must be confessed, is a very general, if not an universal principle, qualified with the exception of some philosophical instances, which only prove the rule. But the honourable pursuit of fortune, is not only a praise, but a duty; and it would be extreme injustice to confound the fair fruits of genius and industry, with the spoils of cunning; or attribute the principles of vice, to the practice of virtue.

"Yet how shall we distinguish virtue from vice, honour from dishonour, or right from wrong, in the conduct of a man devoted to play? The barriers set up by reason and religion, between the duties and the crimes of men, in every other instance, sacred and eternal in the estimation of mankind, seem to be borne down and annihilated by the force of this extraordinary passion. I do not speak of the professed and decided gambler. In his uniform mind, there is none of either the distinction or confusion that I have mentioned. It presents a *carte noire* of infamy, undisturbed by a single ray of any virtue. My position applies to the unhappy instances of noble minds,

minds, debaſed by this ignoble vice; of men of honour, diſhonouring every high quality they poſſeſs, by this vile paſſion;—whoſe hearts, not only pure and ſpotleſs, but glowing with every generous ſentiment, are infected alone by this fatal gangrene, which benumbs every feeling while it predominates, and deadens the circulation and action of every virtuous affection. How ſhall this paradox of the human mind be accounted for? Is it poſſible to reconcile the contradiction, of oppoſite principles exiſting together in the ſame breaſt; of contrary affections in the ſame heart, and thoſe of the moſt powerful nature too, Friendſhip and Enmity, eager each to act "up to the very height of its bent:" but both, the ſlaves of accident, and directed to action indifferently, as chance ſhall call forth the one or the other?

"I ſhall ſuppoſe, for inſtance, two men, connected by the cloſeſt ties of friendſhip, and differing only in one point; Orgaſtes is ſmitten by the love of play; the paſſion of Eugenius is for the felicity he finds at home in his family. The nights of Orgaſtes are

paſſed

paſſed at the gaming-table, while Eugenius repoſes on the boſom of conjugal happineſs. Yet is not the latter averſe from the amuſements of moderate play, the *jeu de ſocieté* of a friendly party. Orgaſtes invites him to one of his friendly parties on a little country excurſion. He leaves his happy home with reluctance; but appoints a ſpeedy return to happineſs, heightened by ſhort abſence. They proceed; and Eugenius is delighted with the wit and eloquence of his friend's friends; for they were of the firſt claſs of faſhion, and talents. Play is propoſed. Stakes grow high, and Eugenius heſitates; but ſoon ſtimulated by example, and abſent from the happy reſource to which he would have flown if he had been near his home, he is tempted to one throw. The only difficulty is in the firſt ſtep: then *facilis deſcenſus Averni*.—Eugenius is undone. And by whom?—By his friend Orgaſtes: by him, who, in every other poſſible incident of life, would have ſacrificed himſelf for the other's happineſs.—The friend then will reſtore to the ruined Eugenius the rapine of the gambler?—No:—Orgaſtes is plundered in his turn:

turn:—and if more exquiſite miſery can be imagined than that of the father and huſband, till that curſt moment the happieſt that ever enjoyed thoſe titles, it is the lot of Orgaſtes;—for all his friend's woes are heaped upon his head.

"Rarely, however, it muſt be confeſſed," continued the Colonel, "are the ſentiments of affection or friendſhip found to flouriſh long in the mind polluted with this paſſion. Habitual intercourſe and participation in ſcenes ſo fatal, gradually weaken the ſprings of ſympathy and pity. For if the frequent ſpectacle of executions be found ſufficient to blunt the feelings of the ſpectators, what reſiduum of tenderneſs ſhall we expect in the breaſt of the executioner?

"On the whole," continued the Colonel, "whether this pernicious paſſion in exceſs, be conſidered on the ground of virtue or religion, in relation to morals or to manners, it will appear not blacker in its nature than ingratitude and ſome other odious vices, but infinitely more comprehenſive in its miſchiefs than any, and the cauſe of moſt. More violations of friendſhip, more family afflictions,

afflictions, more fraud and cruelty, more murder, and beyond comparison more ſuicide,—that laſt completion of crime, to which alone repentance is denied,—are directly derived from this ſource than from any other. It is the parent of vice, and the deſtroyer of virtue."

P.

NUMBER X.—DEC. 17, 1793.

To wake the ſoul by tender ſtrokes of art,
To raiſe the genius and to mend the heart;
To make mankind in conſcious virtue bold,
Live o'er each ſcene, *and* be *what they behold.*

POPE.

NO ſubject has more attracted the attention of criticks, both moral and literary, than that which is ſo juſtly praiſed in the poliſhed ſtrains of Mr. POPE.—Nothing, indeed, could more powerfully elicit all the warmth of poetry, or more deſervedly juſtify his panegyrick, than the peculiar intereſt of the ſcenes he ſo nobly deſcribes. The prologuiſt

prologuiſt of CATO glows with the patriot flame of his author's hero. To pronounce the eulogium of Roman virtue, requires a ſympathy with Roman ſentiment, and the power of Roman eloquence. The poet riſes with the towering theme, and becomes "himſelf the great ſublime he draws."

But in conſidering the general utility of the ſtage, in its effects on the ſentiments and conduct of men, I believe it has been ſeldom diſputed that more advantage is derived, becauſe deeper impreſſion is felt, from the exhibition of domeſtick ſcenes, than the repreſentation of royal diſtreſs, with which tragedy ſo pompouſly abounds; or than even from the ſufferings of heroick virtue. And I conceive this remark is to be ſupported, not merely becauſe domeſtick intereſts are more general and better underſtood by mankind, than thoſe which affect perſons in elevated ſtations, or who move in the higher walks of life; but from the nature of the ſubject itſelf.

Diſappointments of ambition, defeats in battle, or the loſs even of empire, although of mighty ſound and apparent magnitude, do

do not penetrate the heart with the ſame poignancy as ungrateful friendſhip, faithleſs love, and domeſtick deſpair. Thoſe exalted calamities arreſt our wonder, rather than our feelings. They dazzle and awe like the thunder, cruſhing the pride of palaces and towers; but the winged flaſh comes armed with ſharper woe, that finds its fatal way to the humble temple of domeſtick happineſs. In the great events of the world, misfortunes make other impreſſions than thoſe of grief and deſpondency on the great minds which they aſſail. "Deſcent and fall," (if in ſpeaking of great men we may be allowed to borrow one quality from MILTON'S unfortunate heroes,) is adverſe to the nature of ambition, which, "in its proper motion aſcends, up to its native ſeat." The buſtle and action of the great ſubjects agitated by publick men, animate their exertions. The general applauſe, if in a good cauſe, rewards; or even in a bad one, the attention of mankind in ſome degree ſupports their ſufferings. But where is the palliative, where the relief, for the ſilent ſorrows of domeſtick affliction?

But

But the ſympathy of the ſpectator muſt be in proportion to the feelings repreſented in the ſcene. Who, therefore, ever felt the ſame intereſt in the fury of BAJAZET, as in the lovely madneſs of BELVIDERA? And is not the virtuous tenderneſs of OCTAVIA, infinitely more affecting than all the meretricious pomp of CLEOPATRA; whoſe love might be more conſpicuous, but could not be more ennobled, by the conteſt for kingdoms, and the fate of empire?

The revival of theatrical exhibitions in this country having recalled to my mind the foregoing train of ideas, I ſhould feel much ſatisfaction if, by any application of them in the ſelection of dramatick ſubjects for repreſentation, they might avail in any degree to contribute to the publick entertainment or advantage. The elegance with which theſe repreſentations are prepared and decorated, and the ability with which they are performed, give the moſt flattering promiſe of ſucceſsful continuance to this delightful amuſement.

The Theatre was well opened, for the cultivation, no doubt, of a good under-

ſtanding with its future critical acquaintance, with the admirable wit of our modern CONGREVE, the *Critick* of Mr. SHERIDAN. Nothing more promotes the intereſts of true taſte and literature, than the expoſure of what is falſe or unnatural. And there can be no more powerful mode of expoſing it, than the happy irony and pointed wit of this incomparable piece.

The next performance which I obſerve ſelected for repreſentation, promiſes by its title, the ſame inſtruction to young travellers who enter on the journey of life; to direct them to the right road, by pointing out the wrong; and it is to be hoped will be equally ſucceſsful with the other dramatick leſſon.

The merry philoſopher had more followers than the melancholy ſage; for it is pleaſanter to be laughed out of follies, or even vices, than to be terrified with the example of contrition, and the ſufferings of the guilty. Comedy, therefore, has always been a more general favourite than her tragick ſiſter. But as each derives new beauty from the contraſt of their charms, it is hoped that

ſoon

ſoon again, "the tragick muſe will tread the ſtage:"—And if the ſentiments be juſt, which I have taken the liberty of ſtating, that ſhe will appear in a domeſtick dreſs.

P.

NUMBER XI.—DECEMBER 24, 1793.

Safe from the Bar, the Pulpit, and the Throne,
And touch'd and ſham'd by RIDICULE *alone.*

POPE.

THAT there is no corrective of more influence on the minds and manners of mankind, than Ridicule, is, I believe, generally admitted; though its comparative power is ſeldom ſo well expreſſed, as in the comprehenſive diſtich of the poet.

Yet it is to be remarked, that he regards only one ſide of the ſubject; and it is to be lamented, that the reverſe of the medal preſents us with an ample view of the miſchievous effects of this weapon in improper hands; more powerful, perhaps, in the cauſe of Fol-

ly, Vice, and Irreligion, than in the legitimate ſervice of Reaſon and Virtue.

Truth is often too confident in her own ſtrength, and expects victory from the conſciouſneſs that her doctrines are irrefragable and immutable. But it is not by convictions of reaſon that men are actuated. The rudder may be powerful enough, and even that, not always to guide; but it is the gale that impels the ſhip. Vice and folly know this full well; and, to direct the bark to its deſtined courſe, call in to their aid the tempting breezes of pleaſure, the ſide-wind of intereſt, or the ſtorms of paſſion and ambition.

Didactick morals ought not to diſdain the auxiliary aſſiſtance of powerful allies; whoſe merits, in themſelves neuter, are determined by the cauſe in which they ſerve. Even the mercenary ſoldier is not to be faſtidiouſly neglected, and left to the ſervice of the wiſer enemy. The paſſions, it is to be apprehended, are not altogether volunteers in virtue; they ought not, however, to be preſſed, though they may honeſtly enough be tempted into the alliance. Well commanded,

manded, and in a good cauſe, they will do at leaſt Knight's ſervice.

To bring over the paſſions to the ſide of virtue, as it muſt be allowed to be the moſt uſeful, ſo will it certainly be found the moſt pleaſing exerciſe of genius. If virtue could only be ſeen, ſays CICERO, in an eloquent flight of philoſophy, ſhe would appear ſo lovely, that the affections of all men would be captivated by her charms. It will, therefore, be no mean praiſe to ſucceed, by graces of pictureſque deſcription, to render her as viſible as may be; at leaſt to the mind's eye.

To expoſe, on the contrary, in the ſtrong colours of wit and eloquence, the ſpecious affectations of vice and folly, and to impreſs their deformities on the imagination, will arm the feelings as well as the judgment of mankind; and will have a much better chance, not only of deterring, but correcting.

It is good, according to the common ſaying, to get the laughers on one's ſide. Is it not in every day's experience, that a tenacious arguer ſhall be proof againſt every proof

proof of reaſon and fair argument,—ay, and againſt fact too,—and abſolutely invincible by any thing but the laugh of the company? This is certainly fair warfare againſt ſuch doughty diſputants. It may, perhaps, be called fair argument alſo; as being the exerciſe of that diſtinguiſhing quality peculiar to man as a rational being; *animal rationale, riſibile*, &c. However that may be, it appears from the "*riſum teneatis*" of HORACE, that the laugh againſt impropriety is at leaſt claſſical; and we learn from the general tenour of his own admirable humour, that the beſt judge of moral poeticks knew and practiſed in high perfection, as an eſſential friend to his moral cauſe, the power of Ridicule.

It is not extraordinary that our modern ſatiriſt, who poſſeſſed that power in ſo great a degree, and who ſo well imitated the Roman wit, ſhould pronounce an high panegyrick on the quality he excelled in; and which ſo eſſentially availed him and his brother-wits in their Auguſtan age, againſt both critical and political antagoniſts. It is true, however, that it was ſometimes unfairly

fairly employed, even by them; though by no means with the licence or abuſe, to which the licentious wits of CHARLES's court perverted it. They, as JOHNSON well ſays,——

——"Found eaſier ways to fame,
" Nor wiſh'd for JONSON's art, or SHAKESPEAR's flame."

For it is eaſier to ridicule religion, than to enforce the intereſt of virtue with moral judgment or enlightened genius,

To the credit of Engliſh taſte and good ſenſe, the examples of the ROCHESTERS and BUCKINGHAMS of that diſſolute court, have not been followed by the ſucceeding wits of their country. And if the power of Ridicule was fatally found injurious to morals and decorum in their hands, and in the indiſcriminate praiſe of it by SHAFTESBURY, as a teſt of truth; it has fortunately, in later and better times, ranged under the immortal banner it had attempted in vain to attack. We have ſeen it legitimately employed by the fineſt talents in the nobleſt cauſe; and if the wits of France abuſed the powers of their raillery

raillery in turning to jeſt the ſacred tenets of religion, we have ſeen the acumen of SWIFT, turning their own arms againſt them, pointed with his peculiar fire; and vindicating, with victorious ridicule, the true doctrines of the church, againſt the moderation of Jack, and the dry cruſts of Peter.

Nor muſt his incomparable ridicule be forgotten, in his generous defence of ancient literature. His ſublime humour, in the battle of the Library, firmly ſeated HOMER and PINDAR on their Pegaſus, and fairly routed the galled jades of the moderns.

The name of CERVANTES muſt occur to every admirer of fine humour and its eminent ſucceſs. The follies of a nation, the madneſs of the world, ſunk under the magical power of reaſon, armed with the wit of genuine ridicule; the frenzy of chivalry was reduced to the ſcale of reaſon, and the ſpirit of honour.

It is not pleaſant to recur to the abuſe of ſo noble a faculty. But the principle of true humour, diſtorted by modern opinion and practice, reminds us, with a ſigh, how widely it has aberred from the ſage ſcale of

reaſon.

reaſon. But the miſchief is not wholly modern. The fatal ſhaft of ridicule, miſdirected, was of force to bear down the rational dignity, and real honour, of one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen in the accompliſhed court of Queen ELIZABETH. He was inſulted by a contemptible fop. His magnanimity deſpiſed the inſult, and looked down on the wretch that offered it. But the fear of ridicule, the only fear in his breaſt, reduced him to a level beneath him —"How can I appear at court," ſaid he to his friends, "if I do not meet this fellow? How will the maids of *honour* regard me?"

P.

NUMBER XII.—JAN. 21, 1794.

The ſweet enthuſiaſt, from her *ſacred* ſtore;
Enlarged the former narrow bounds,
And added length to *ſolemn ſounds*,
With nature's mother-wit, and arts unknown before. DRYDEN.

HAVING taken occaſion, in a former paper, to offer a few remarks on the ſiſter-arts of Poetry and Painting, I embrace with much pleaſure the preſent opportunity of conſidering a ſweetly congenial ſubject, the charms and the powers of Muſick.

The former conſiderations were ſuggeſted by contemplation of the eminence which the Painter's art has attained among us; ſo high, even in this limited and remote ſociety, as not eaſily to be exceeded in its own genial ſoil, or in ſcenes of the moſt extenſive example and encouragement. For where can be more juſtly admired the exquiſite touches of the pencil, animating the ivory with the improved elegance of minuteneſs, while it preſerves, in the faithful feature, the conſtant memorial

memorial of an abſent friend*? Where can be more completely diſplayed, *en grand*, the characteriſtick virtues of the ſtateſman and the warrior; or the pious dignity of the venerable ſage†;—the well-finiſhed book of life cloſing before him, and ſeeming to give place to viſions of immortality! Nor are wanting the nobleſt monuments of the art; hiſtorical records to poſterity, of the ſcenes of conqueſt and glory that have diſtinguiſhed this country; of conqueſt, ſharing her triumphs with clemency; and of glory, crowning in death her favourite ſon‡.

My readers muſt at once anticipate the occaſion that ſuggeſts my preſent ſubject, in recollecting the refined and exalted enter-

* The miniatures and drawings by Mr. SMART.

† The pictures of Lord C. Gen. M. and Mr. B. by Mr. HOME.

‡ The reception by Lord C. of the Hoſtage-Princes, by Mr. HOME and Mr. DAVIS: and the death of Col. MOORHOUSE, by Mr. H. To this immediate circle of ſociety, it would have been unneceſſary to ſpecify particulars. But the Obſerver hopes it will not appear foreign to his purpoſe, to advert to ſuch intereſting Indian ſubjects; and eſpecially to point out to his remoter readers, the pleaſing reflection, that talents are found in India, adequate to the high taſk of recording them.

tainment

tainment ſoon to be given to the publick ear, in the performance of ſelected ſacred muſick. Dull, indeed, would be the obſervation, and cold the ſentiments, that were not impreſſed and attracted by a ſubject in itſelf and its purpoſes ſo ſacred, and in this country ſo perfectly novel.

The powerful influence of muſick has been ſo generally felt and acknowledged in all ages, that it ſeems almoſt unneceſſary to expatiate on it with any illuſtrations. Nothing, indeed, can more plainly prove its paramount power over the mind, than its ancient honours in the earlier ages of mankind; when it was the choſen medium for the publication and recommendation of the laws; for inculcating the doctrines of morality, and the examples of hiſtory; and for inciting to the practice of the higheſt duties, the precepts of religion, and the worſhip of the gods. Codes and ſyſtems of theſe divine and moral duties were compiled in verſe, and chaunted in full choral aſſembly of the people; for verſe and ſong were ſynonimous. It is well known, that from the firſt great example and father of epick poetry, to the wild

wild warblings of our own minſtrel bards, the author was the ſinger of his own works. Muſick was his only means of publication; and Apollo his only patron. And it is obſervable among our poliſhed neighbours of the continent, on the claſſick ground of Italy, where though not in ſuch bright blaze, yet certainly are to be found traces of the ancient flame, the *improviſatori*, or extempore compoſers of verſes, are obliged to have recourſe to the auxiliary powers of Muſick.

Poetry, indeed, implies in ſome degree, the properties of muſick. It is one of the branches into which this great and extenſive ſubject is divided; *muſica poetica;* metrical ſound being evidently a ſpecies of harmony. *Muſica harmonica*, however, is contradiſtinguiſhed to the other five parts into which PORPHYRY diſtributes this comprehenſive art, as the ſcience of diſpoſing and conducting ſounds, vocal and inſtrumental, ſeparating them at juſt intervals, or combining with due proportion and relation to each other. This noble ſkill, embracing the other lovely harmony

harmony of poetry, or, in MILTON's warm expreſſion,

" *Married to immortal verſe.*

is omnipotent over every paſſion. It regulates the violence of rage, and animates the languor of deſpondency; it aſſuages the ſtings of pain, and gives new ſenſe to pleaſure; it calls forth the beſt energies of the ſoul; and while its univerſal command can ſubdue and correct the vices of the mind, it knows alſo to exalt the nobleſt virtues by its divine enthuſiaſm.

On the ſublimeſt of all ſubjects, it is peculiarly obſervable, that the power of muſick triumphs over other arts. In them the greateſt maſters have in vain attempted to perſonify to the imagination the ineffable attributes of the Deity, or to repreſent the ſacred myſteries of immortal exiſtence. The infernal regions of ANGELO or DANTE, though blazoned with the brighteſt colouring that painting or poetry could give them, diſappoint the mind with expreſſion evidently and infinitely imperfect. Of the former,

former, indeed, though from a genius ſo ſublime, the effect to the eye has appeared directly the contrary to what the imagination expects; and the flaming limbs of the dæmons are perhaps truly criticiſed, as rather ridiculous than terrible.

If any glance of mortal ken could ſoar "from earth to heaven," or penetrate the myſteries of other worlds, it may fairly be pronounced, even by Engliſh criticks, without any imputation of partiality, that, the poet of Paradiſe poſſeſſed the peculiar power. Certainly, the ſublime horrors of hell have never been ſo powerfully pourtrayed by human imagination; and his aſtoniſhing creative genius has with more daring wing than any other, paſſed "the flaming bounds."

But the moſt that genius can do, is to create new combinations of ideas originally received through the ſenſes. So received, they are compared, diſtinguiſhed, and claſſed, or mixed and multiplied, by reflection. But the materials can be only ſupplied from the experience of ſenſation: and invention is no more than the diſcovery of new modes of repreſenting them. It is to be feared, therefore,

fore, that if MILTON ſucceeded better in his deſcription of the fallen angels, than of thoſe who enjoyed

"Heaven's pureſt light,"

that the cauſe may be traced to the imperfections of human nature; leſs qualified by experience to imagine the perfect purity of the divine attributes and celeſtial enjoyments, than the errors of diſobedience and pride, and their conſequent puniſhments.

For the warmeſt admirer of our immortal poet muſt confeſs, that even his

"*Seraph-wing of extacy,*"

fails under him, when he aſpires to diſplay the glories of heaven, and the Majeſty of the Almighty.

So in his truly ſacred poem, of *Paradiſe Regained*, the powers even of his fancy cannot avail him. Heaven is too high for mortal wing to ſoar: too vaſt for human underſtanding to comprehend: too perfect for poetical panegyrick to praiſe.—In the emphatical words of the great critick on the ſubject of Sacred Poetry, no leſs eminent for

for the acumen of his mind than the piety of his heart, "Omnipotence cannot be ex-" alted; Infinity cannot be amplified; Per-" fection cannot be improved."

If the nobleſt ſtrains of poetry and ſublimeſt images of painting be thus defective, they muſt yield the palm to the power of ſacred muſick; which, though it cannot amplify or improve infinity or perfection, can yet exalt the ſoul more highly than any other human means, to adore them; and inſpire more of the ſublime and enthuſiaſtick fervour ſuitable to the ſacred ſubject:—

" *Can take the priſon'd ſoul,—*
" *And lap it in Elyſium.*"

On this ſublime effect of ſacred ſong, the feelings of every hearer muſt ſpeak for themſelves. To them the appeal may ſafely be made, if we may judge from the experience of the late celebrated commemoration of HANDEL, in his own immortal muſick. As the full choir was animated with but one uniſon ſtrain, and every concurring inſtrument poured forth the ſame ſwell of harmony, ſo the tranſported hearers ſeemed to

be informed with but one ſoul; and all that ſoul to be poſſeſſed alone with the ſacred enthuſiaſm.

It is evidently impoſſible to reaſon on effects like theſe.—The beſt explanation will be found, perhaps, in the high praiſe and preference which the great poet gives to the ſiſter-art which he admired.

" But let my due feet never fail
" To walk the ſtudious cloyſters pale,
" And love the high embowed roof,
" With antique pillars, maſſy proof,
" And ſtoried windows richly dight,
" Caſting a dim religious light:
" There let the pealing organ blow
" To the full-voiced choir below;
" In ſervice high, and anthems clear,
" As may with ſweetneſs thro' mine ear
" Diſſolve me into extaſies,
" And bring all Heaven before mine eyes."

P.

NUMBER XIII.—JAN. 28, 1794.

Song charms the Senſe, and Eloquence the Soul.
MILTON.

MR. OBSERVER,

I HOPE you will by no means imagine, from the motto I have choſen, that any invidious compariſon is intended between the powers of Muſick and of Oratory. No man is more charmed with the concord of ſweet ſounds than myſelf. And if I ſubmit to you a few thoughts on the ſubject of Eloquence, and a very brilliant example of its extraordinary excellence from a great and venerable maſter, you will pleaſe to conſider my preſent addreſs, more as a theme for any further obſervation you may make on the power of the Arts, than a diſputation againſt thoſe with which you have already favoured the publick.

Hiſtory in its brighteſt æras furniſhes abundant and conſtant proof of the commanding power of Oratory. It rouſed na-

tions from their lethargy; and lighted up the dormant fires of patriotiſm: it rallied retreating armies in the field; and in the publick councils, and the forum, led obedient ſenates, and fixed the wavering multitude: it directed, in every ſtate, the publick voice and action; and, in the moſt perilous events, dictated the fate of empire. The thunder of DEMOSTHENES repelled the power, and baffled the corrupt policy of PHILIP: the patriot fire of CICERO annihilated CATILINE, and ſaved the Miſtreſs of the World; and the Orator was acknowledged the father of his country:—ſo Virtue "was crowned," but Eloquence "won the cauſe."

What muſt have been its ſublime effects, ſupported by ſuch auxiliaries as virtue and patriotiſm, and directed to ſuch an object as the happineſs of mankind, when we ſee it ſo powerful even to the baſeſt purpoſes of intereſt and ambition, and in wicked confederacy with moſt baneful principles? Its great ſcenes of exertion are thoſe, which are in themſelves moſt eventful in their conſequences; national commotions, and revolutions

tions of kingdoms. From theſe premiſes, the modern eye naturally turns to that unhappy country, which for four fatal years has been the theatre of national calamity. And he who traces the progreſs of that calamitous drama, from the firſt act of depoſition of royalty in the national ſenate, to the murderous cataſtrophe on the national ſcaffold, will ſee how the abuſe of popular eloquence prevailed, to madden the multitude; and if not intended to effect the final miſchief, as lately has been ſuggeſted in ſome poſthumous proofs, yet how fatally powerful it was to light a flame that could not be extinguiſhed. The extraordinary talents of MIRABEAU, and their omnipotent effect in the Aſſembly of France, are too well known. And though it may be ſome conſolation to thoſe, whoſe love of human nature revolts from the unnatural aſſociation of the blackeſt vices with the brighteſt abilities, to find that his were not the principles which have ſince been acted upon, to the horror of mankind; yet, giving him credit, as CATO's candour did to CÆSAR, for ſome better qualities, but taking the eloquence of both into the

the account, may we not exclaim againſt the French demagogue, with the Roman patriot againſt the dictator,

" Curſe on his virtues! They've undone his country."

But to turn to the more pleaſing view of the ſubject, where the fineſt talents combat on the ſide of truth, we have ſeen their triumph in the nobleſt cauſe; in the cauſe of religion, law, and order; in defence of every ſacred poſt and barrier, eſſential not alone to the ſecurity and happineſs of mankind, but to the very exiſtence of ſociety. The ſublime comprehenſion of that penetrating genius *, which in the early dawn of democracy, ſaw the deſtructive principle of general conflagration that was to flame in its meridian, gave the alarm to the world; and his warning voice was heard. The baleful influence, threatening every confine of humanity, was averted; and the portentous meteor, conſumed in its own fires, paſſes away for ever.

My ſubject has led me further than I intended; and into ſome obſervations, which, though

* Mr. BURKE.

though collateral to it, may ſeem, perhaps, not quite conſiſtent with the plan you have hitherto purſued. For I have remarked, Mr. *Obſerver*, that among the various topicks you have touched on, no political diſcuſſion has found a place. I aſſure you it is by no means my intention to inſtitute one; but my ſubject naturally involved alluſion to its great maſters, and the political ſcene of their powers.—When you conſider painting, poetry, or muſick, your examples are from RAPHAEL, MILTON, or HANDEL: can modern oratory be better illuſtrated, than by the names of BURKE, FOX, or SHERIDAN?

Another name remains,

—"*Clarum et venerabile nomen—Gentibus,*"—

the celebrity of which in this noble talent, whether we contemplate the fame of the father, or the ſon's hereditary genius, is an eminent proof of the tranſcendent powers of oratory. But with every reſpect for the preſent name of PITT, and the eminent abilities now diſplayed in the Britiſh Senate, I believe it will be agreed that their moſt

brilliant

brilliant exertions can hardly equal the ſublime eloquence of the late Lord CHATHAM.

In the immediate dearth of moderate debate, it may not, I hope, be unacceptable to your readers, if you inſert the following eloquent ſpecimen of the old ſchool, pronounced by the great orator, on the employment of the American Indians in the war.

In the courſe of the debate on an addreſs to his Majeſty, Nov. 17, 1777, Lord SUFFOLK, ſecretary of ſtate, had defended that meaſure, on the principle, "that it was juſ-" tifiable to uſe all the means that God and " Nature put into our hands."

* " I am aſtoniſhed!" (exclaimed Lord CHATHAM, as he roſe)—" ſhocked! to hear ſuch principles confeſſed — to hear them avowed in this houſe, or in this country; principles equally unconſtitutional, inhuman, and unchriſtian!

* This ſpeech of Lord CHATHAM's has already appeared in the 1ſt vol. of this work, but it is ſo cloſely connected with the ſubject of the paper, that it cannot well be expunged, without deſtroying the effect of the foregoing and ſubſequent obſervations. E.

" My

" My Lords, I did not intend to have encroached again on your attention: but I cannot repreſs my indignation—I feel myſelf impelled by every duty. My Lords, we are called upon as members of this houſe, as men, as Chriſtian men, to proteſt againſt ſuch notions ſtanding near the throne, polluting the ear of Majeſty. 'That God and Nature put into our hands!' I know not what ideas that Lord may entertain of God and Nature; but I know, that ſuch abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. —What! to attribute the ſacred ſanction of God and Nature to the maſſacres of the Indian ſcalping knife—to the cannibal ſavage torturing, murdering, roaſting, and eating; literally, my Lords, eating the mangled victims of his barbarous battles! Such horrible notions ſhock every precept of religion, divine or natural, and every generous feeling of humanity. And, my Lords, they ſhock every ſentiment of honour; they ſhock me as a lover of honourable war, and a deteſter of murderous barbarity.

" Theſe

"Theſe abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the moſt deciſive indignation. I call upon that right reverend bench, thoſe holy miniſters of the goſpel, and pious paſtors of our church; I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God: I appeal to the wiſdom and the law of this learned bench, to defend and ſupport the juſtice of their country: I call upon the Biſhops, to interpoſe the unſullied ſanctity of their lawn;—upon the learned Judges, to interpoſe the purity of their ermine, to ſave us from this pollution: I call upon the honour of your Lordſhips, to reverence the dignity of your anceſtors, and to maintain your own: I call upon the ſpirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character: I invoke the genius of the conſtitution. From the tapeſtry that adorns theſe walls, the immortal anceſtor of this noble Lord * frowns with indignation at the

* Lord EFFINGHAM.—Lord EFFINGHAM HOWARD was Lord High Admiral of England againſt the Spaniſh Armada; the deſtruction of which is repreſented in the tapeſtry.

diſgrace

diſgrace of his country. In vain he led your victorious fleets againſt the boaſted Armada of Spain; in vain he defended and eſtabliſhed the honour, the liberties, the religion, the Proteſtant religion, of this country, againſt the arbitrary cruelties of Popery and the inquiſition, if theſe more than Popiſh cruelties and inquiſitorial practices are let looſe among us; to turn forth into our ſettlements, among our ancient connections, friends, and relations, the mercileſs cannibal, thirſting for the blood of man, woman, and child! to ſend forth the infidel ſavage—againſt whom? againſt your Proteſtant brethren; to lay waſte their country, to deſolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name, with theſe horrible hell-hounds of ſavage war! hell-hounds, I ſay, of ſavage war. Spain armed herſelf with blood-hounds, to extirpate the wretched natives of America; and we improve on the inhuman example, even of Spaniſh cruelty; we turn looſe theſe ſavage hell-hounds againſt our brethren and countrymen in America, of the ſame language, laws, liberties, and religion;

religion; endeared to us by every tie that ſhould ſanctify humanity.

"My Lords, this aweful ſubject, ſo important to our honour, our conſtitution, and our religion, demands the moſt ſolemn and effectual inquiry. And I again call upon your Lordſhips, and the united powers of the ſtate, to examine it thoroughly and deciſively, and to ſtamp upon it an indelible ſtigma of the publick abhorrence. And I again implore thoſe holy prelates of our religion, to do away theſe iniquities from among us. Let them perform a luſtration; let them purify this houſe, and this country, from this ſin.

"My Lords, I am old and weak, and at preſent unable to ſay more; but my feelings and indignation were too ſtrong to have ſaid leſs. I could not have ſlept this night in my bed, nor repoſed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of ſuch prepoſterous and enormous principles."

Such was the ſudden burſt of eloquence, that I am perſuaded, if the queſtion could have been inſtantly put to the vote, their Lordſhips

Lordſhips would have forgotten they were politicians, and remembered only they were men: that the deciſion would have been without a diſſent; and that he would have effected as a ſpeaker, what he had perfected in his glorious war as a miniſter;—"without dividing, to deſtroy party; without corrupting to make a venal age unanimous."

I fear I have tranſgreſſed your limits, but, I hope, not your plan. Without, however, riſquing either further,

I remain, your's,

HORTENSIUS.

I am much obliged to my correſpondent HORTENSIUS; and accept, in perfect good part, his explanation, that while he extols his favourite art, he means not to depreciate any other. Nor can his eſſay, and the eminent inſtance he adduces, be conſidered as foreign to the plan of a paper, one humble part of which was originally intended for the diſcuſſion of ſubjects of literature; eſpecially as he has, if not by compariſon, by juxtapoſition, brought back the mind to the topick

topick of my laſt, which ſo immediately claims the attention and praiſe of every *Indian Obſerver;* SACRED MUSICK.

HORTENSIUS, I hope, will not have failed to attend the noble performance, intended for the nobleſt object. He will then bear witneſs to the wonders of that divine art; and if his favourite orator of Rome, who, it may be obſerved, knew the merits of melody, from the correcting muſick he employed to regulate his voice,—if pleading for clemency to his client, he could extort tears from CÆSAR, in the ſeat of judgment; —the enthuſiaſtick ſtrains of harmony, heightening eloquence, more ſacred, and certainly not leſs ſublime, the eloquence of Holy Writ itſelf, the hallowed fire that touched the inſpired lips of the prophets;— conſecrated ſtrains ſurely will not be found leſs powerful, to actuate the boſom with the fineſt feelings, and to ſway the beſt affections of the heart to the nobleſt purpoſes.

I ſhall conclude theſe conſiderations with a remarkable inſtance of the influence of theſe united powers, eloquence of ſtyle and compoſition of harmony, in ſacred muſick.

It

It is well known that the celebrated Doctor SWIFT was a moſt orthodox admirer of this grand ſubject, and eminently attentive to improve it in his famous cathedral of St. Patrick. None of the arts, however, had in thoſe days advanced in much progreſs of improvement in Ireland. She had long warbled her own wild notes with native melody; but HANDEL had been more heard of, than heard. His divine compoſitions were little known, and oratorios only coming into faſhion.

A certain noble Lord, though not of very ſacred manners, meeting the Dean at the firſt performance of the Meſſiah, was, however, ſo ſtruck with the ſublimity both of the muſick and the words, that he begged to know from the Dean, the author of the latter. "Will you read his Book, my Lord," ſays SWIFT, "if I lend it to you?" —"Moſt certainly, my dear Doctor:—he writes admirably." — SWIFT ſent him a Bible:—and his Lordſhip was a convert.

P.

NUMBER

NUMBER XIV.—FEB. 11, 1794.

In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas——
OVID.

Of transformations new and ſtrange I tell.

AMONG the extraordinary diſcoveries with which this ingenious age has abounded, none appear more curious than a late experiment in chemicks, which is ſaid to have ſucceeded admirably. Modern ingenuity ſeems, indeed, to have abundantly ſurpaſſed ancient reſearches, not only in the ſucceſs, but in the ſubjects of its exerciſe. The tranſmutation of metals, for example, it is well known, employed the learned attention of centuries; and the diſtinguiſhed epithets of the Greek orators was transferred to certain golden philoſophers of the crucible, who purſued through a diſappointed life the rich dream of *alchymy*. Their want of ſucceſs is the more to be lamented, as their purſuit was doubtleſsly diſintereſted, and perſevered in merely for the advancement of learning.

The

The proceſs, however, ſtill remains fruitleſs; and the ſubject of it, it is to be feared, will long continue the grand *deſideratum* in the world of ſcience.

But the newly acquired knowledge may be conſidered at leaſt as equivalent in point of curioſity, and more ſo as to uſe. The change of lead or iron into gold, though it carries with it ſomething very pleaſing to the imagination, would be found in effect little advantageous to the Midas who ſhouid accompliſh it, or to the Peru or Mexico where it ſhould be accompliſhed.—The modern diſcovery, on the contrary, of the tranſmutability of the human body to a *ſpermaceti candle*, (for ſuch is the extraordinary ſubject of the ingenious and ſucceſsful reſearch to which I allude) cannot fail of being equally beneficial to the projector and the publick.

My reader will probably be as much ſurpriſed, as I confeſs myſelf to have been, if he has not happened to meet with an account of this transformation, in ſome of the late publications. But it comes to us ſo circumſtantially related, that by a new pro-

ceſs of chemiſtry juſt diſcovered, the beſt ſpermaceti may be procured from dead human bodies, that it challenges peculiar attention.

Whether this new metamorphoſe be conſidered in a moral or literary light, it will be found equally ſatisfactory. No mean maſter of philoſophy, the univerſal SHAKESPEARE, has already moralized on the contraſted ſtate to which the material part of us, even of kings and heroes, is ſubject:

" Imperious CÆSAR, dead and turn'd to clay,
" Might ſtop a hole to keep the wind away:
" O, that that earth, which kept the world in awe,
" Should patch a wall, t'expel the winter's flaw!"

How much more pleaſing the contemplation, eſpecially to the literary labourer, that his earthy part, after having been animated by the genius of his mind, ſhould not degenerate into the unworthy offices foreſeen by Hamlet; but, on the contrary, ſhould aſpire to the generous purpoſe of repaying the favours it had received from its old companion—of ſhining with grateful flame on the ſtudy of thoſe very pages, which

which the labours of the mind had compoſed by the leſs brilliant glimmerings of the lamp!

It was long a doubt among the learned, whether ſpermaceti were a mineral or an animal ſubſtance. On that head, if any difference of opinion could have remained, it would now be entirely cleared up in favour of the latter hypotheſis, by the late noble experiment; proving, excluſively of its cetaceous origin, from which the favourers of that hypotheſis deduce it, that it may be procured from a much nobler animal ſubject, "not very like a whale," to recur to Hamlet again, but much ſuperior.

It is to be obſerved, that in conſidering this novel queſtion, it is only regarded in a philoſophical point of view; contradiſtinguiſhed to any judgment that may be formed on its propriety, conſidered on more high and ſolemn grounds. The advantages of the ſcience of anatomy to the conſervation of health and prolongation of life, are too well known to be inſiſted on; and the penitent practice of maleſactors becoming beneſactors to their country, by the diſpoſal of

their perſonal property after their deceaſe, appears to have flouriſhed in the time of the Spectator, from the bargain recorded by him, ſold by "a Bite who was to be hanged in chains." Whether this particular privilege ſhould be extended, and a general power of ſelf-alienation be allowed, even for the uſeful and new lights intended by the modern diſcovery, it is not for an humble obſerver to decide:—doubtleſs, the preſent luminaries of church and ſtate will either warmly ſupport, or entirely extinguiſh, the new project, as it may deſerve. In the mean time, ſuppoſing it not to be ſnuffed out the moment it has been lighted, it may be varied into more general view; and we may be permitted to ſpeculate on the various ſupply that might be found from human nature, for the different ſorts of lights required in the purpoſes of life.

The relation between body and mind, though not particularly underſtood, is generally admitted; and their reciprocal influence is univerſally felt. It is pretty clear, therefore, in diſtributing the ſeveral ſubjects of the ſuppoſed corporeal *tranſlumination*, that

that the character which each has ſuſtained before it, is to regulate the claſs of luminary in which he is poſthumouſly to ſhine. So it may appear literally, according to the beautiful metaphor of the poet,

"*Even in our aſhes live our wonted fires.*"

Indian objects naturally occur to Indian obſervation, and the moſt ſplendid firſt ſtrike the eye. The high Behauder, for inſtance, when his mortal fire is out, would blaze away with peculiar propriety in the brilliant branch-lights that we have heard of in Calcutta, preceding the pomp; while the buck might continue to burn in a flaming maſſaul, ſtill lighting the nocturnal lads, as Falſtaff propoſed to his luminous friend Bardolph; who may be mentioned, indeed, on this occaſion, as at the ſame time an anticipation of the plan, and an authority for the practice.

The native chiefs who ſhine in war, might continue in ſplendour, lighted up on the walls they have defended; or more naturally ſtill, in rockets to be thrown from them: and the brunette beauties of the country, not leſs killing, could add the brightneſs of their

their eyes to the brilliancy of the blue-lights, and ſtill dazzle the beholders.

The gentle maiden, untimely torn from a world ſhe had juſt began to adorn, ſhould ſtill beam the pureſt ray from the virgin-wax taper, to communicate the chaſte affections of ſurviving lovers; and the nuptial torch ſhould be lighted at the ſame inſtant by the united and "wonted fires" of the happy wedded pair who had lived and died together; and who ſhine a conſtant and equal example of the holy flame.

Spendthrifts would be candles lighted at both ends, and a miſer would continue to die, as the ſnuff of a wick on a ſave-all. The little ductile wax, lighted without warmth, might, like its conſtituent the *petit maitre*, attend his miſtreſs to the toilet, and then—go out: while the bully, vapouring below in a huge flambeau, ſhould emit volumes of ſmoke from very little fire.

The hypocrite, the traitor to his friend, the ſyſtematick ſeducer, the deep deſigner of fraud, and the man of ſelf, would be all worthy candidates for the honour of illuminating one ſide of the dark lantern.

Iraſcible

Iraſcible men, ſubject to ſudden fits and ſtarts of paſſion, would bounce about very naturally in ſquibs and crackers; and if obſtinately cholerick, might arrive at the dignity of fire-works.

A plain ſteady man, and a decent mould candle, might agree very well; but a dirty fellow ſhould be a dipped tallow; and a mean ſcoundrel a farthing candle.

Authors would very naturally be ardent to relumine their garrets; and the plagiariſt would be quite at home, as a thief in their candle.

How admirably would democrats be diſplayed in firebrands,—and the advocates for equality crackle in a general conflagration.

Lawyers, according to the uſe of the legal lights of their "brief candle" in life, would either guide the dark way of the traveller, from the friendly beacon; or puzzle him, as *ignes fatui*, in the labyrinth.

Bonfires, rejoicing for glorious ſucceſſes, would require the ardour of the ſoldier who had fallen to acquire them:—patriots and heroes would burn in the frankincenſe, and ſtill live grateful to the ſenſe of their country:—

try:—and the man of God might continue to enlighten the people, from the watch-tower on high.

P.

NUMBER XV.—FEB. 25, 1794.

Hail, wedded love, myſterious law, true ſource
Of human offspring, ſole propriety
In Paradiſe, of all things common elſe.
By thee adult'rous luſt was driven from men,
Among the beſtial herds to range; by thee
Founded in reaſon, loyal, juſt, and pure.
Relations dear, and all the charities
Of father, ſon, and brother, firſt were known.

MILTON.

IT will not appear extraordinary that the ſubject of marriage, ſhould in all ages and countries, have ſo much attracted the attention, both of legiſlators and philoſophers, when it is recollected that no event in human life is ſo eſſentially important to mankind.

There is a common, but not the leſs forcible expreſſion, in ſpeaking of thoſe of either

either ſex who enter into the holy ſtate of matrimony, "that they have changed their ſituation." Much, certainly, is to be inferred from this emphatical phraſe; abſolute change of ſituation implying a dereliction of objects which had ſurrounded one's former place, or poſt in ſociety; and, in conſequence, as nature permits not *a vacuum*, other objects and lines of relation muſt ariſe, and a new perſpective be diſplayed to the mind's eye.

It is on this ground, of a totally new train of ideas being generated in thoſe who make this important change in their ſituation, that ſome refining caſuiſts ſcruple not to maintain that the whole identity of the perſon is altered; and that the new-married benedicks and bluſhing brides, eſpecially if they have been at all antiquated in their reſpective previous capacities, become quite different men and women.

Whether this be not puſhing a little too far Mr. LOCKE's ſyſtem, of conſciouſneſs being the criterion of a man's being himſelf, is too delicate a point to be raſhly decided on; eſpecially when applied to ſo ſerious a

ſubject

ſubject as matrimony; for, from admitting it in too much latitude, conſequences inconvenient enough both to the dignity and permanence of wedlock might enſue. The argument might be too retroſpective; and ſometimes, perhaps, prove that the unconſcious lover, abſent to every thing and every thought but the charms of his miſtreſs, was beſide himſelf, as the phraſe is, a little too ſoon; and before his other ſelf was legitimately communicated to him.

But I rather conceive that theſe particular conſiderations ought not to be too curiouſly purſued, and that the queſtion ſhould be viewed on the faireſt ground, and with the moſt reſpectful and candid conſideration, — in the words of MILTON, who, grand on every ſubject, and peculiarly ſo on this, "with myſterious reverence."

It is remarkable, however, that this illuſtrious authority, to whom I am obliged in my motto for his ſublime eulogy on WEDDED LOVE, is among the foremoſt of thoſe who would impair the inviolability of the matrimonial ſanction, ſtill more than is admitted even in the laxity of modern manners,

ners, by the defence and recommendation of divorce on principles unthought of in the leſs refined proviſions of our juriſprudence; on grounds merely of mental diſſatiſfaction, or diſagreement of temper.

This ſpiritual doctrine of divorce maintained by MILTON, might conſiſt very well with his ſenſibility; as it evidently originated in his mind from the misfortune of his matrimonial adventure. But it does not appear to have made any impreſſion on the feelings or judgments of men ſince his time till the preſent; which, among the other wonders it has teemed with, has brought forward in higher perfection than was imagined even by MILTON, his favourite ſyſtem.

I do not recollect to have ſeen this new plan of matrimonial variety brought forward to much public notice: though it has flouriſhed with infinite ſucceſs in France for a year or two paſt: and has been happily tranſplanted to the genial clime of Mauritius. But it does not appear, with other democratical doctrines of independent rights, to have reached our Indian coaſts.

It

It is peculiarly obſervable, and not a little in favour of the modern patriots of France, that they ſhould have the honour of reviving and effecting the free-ſpirited plan of the celebrated ſecretary of CROMWELL. Theirs, indeed, ſeems to have improved on that of MILTON, as might be expected when it is conſidered that his was a partial meaſure in his own cauſe; limited and defined too in a very ſtrict manner, as admiſſible only in cafes of incurable diſcord and averſion.—But our more liberal and galânt reformers of the new republic diſpenſe their unmarrying licence on the broad bottom of unreſtrained inclination: —except, indeed, in one particular; which ſeems to be a great conceſſion on the part of theſe ſticklers for the rights of men and women:—a month's notice, as in the caſe of hired ſervants, muſt be given to the wife before ſhe is turned off:—and *vice verſâ*. This, however, is very humanely calculated in favour of the perſon to be repudiated, and ſeems to excel the ancient *Laconic* code of LYCURGUS; which muſt be confeſſed to

to have been a little too precipitate as well as promiſcuous. Little option was left to the Spartan dame, as to ſubſequent choice, and little time to exerciſe it; but a whole month of grace is allowed to the fair modern republican, to diſcriminate between ſucceſſive ſuitors, and ſelect a ſecond huſband. By this equitable proviſion it may ſo occur, that though conſtant revolutions happen in the family, the wife, like the *royal perſon*, ſhall never die; but that the matrimonial, like the royal crowns, without ever ſuffering an interval of ſingleneſs, ſhall demiſe inſtantaneouſly. Thus every month brings its huſband; and the whole year may be a round of *honey-moons!*

The minute regulations of the *nouveau code matrimonial*, ſo it is called, do equal credit to the inventors of this variegated wedlock. The appropriation of the family, naturally attracted much attention; but the refined rules adopted on that ſubject might be tireſome in detail. Suffice it to obſerve, that the obvious diſtribution of nature is attended to; in conſigning the daughters

daughters to the care of their mother; the ſons, to the father; and, as in the inſtance of royalty again, preference is given and obedience paid to the reigning huſband. So, *rex de facto* is always ſuppoſed *rex de jure.*

But the moſt ſhining diſtinction of this liberal code, is the reference of all matrimonial duties, to the commonwealth, as oppoſed to every religious eſtabliſhment. All ſanctions and conſiderations of religion are utterly annihilated, and patriotiſm alone occupies the ſoul. Marriage rites are no more: the aweful altar no more conſecrates the trembling vow of the bluſhing maiden: —now, under trees of liberty, the fearleſs bride pronounces her promiſe,——" to love, honour, and obey" the equal laws, the appetites and inſtincts of pure natural ſociety; —and to be a true and ſtaunch ſubject of the Republick.

I do not know that I ſhould have been induced to attend ſo much to this ſubject, curious as it is, if accounts had not lately occurred of its having, as hinted before, found its way

way with much ſucceſs on this ſide the Cape, and actually paired and unpaired many happy couples, in the Iſle of France. But I have been incited to give it the more obſervation, in our matrimonial ſphere, from the conſcious triumph which ſociety here muſt feel, and for the advantage which contraſt gives. The experiment was, perhaps, cruel to the wretched Helot; but it proved the judgment of the maſter, who intoxicated his ſlave to be exhibited in that brutal ſtate, as an example of diſguſt to the youth of Sparta.—But here, it is only for the pleaſure of regarding the contraſt, the happy and triumphant contraſt, of conſtancy and love, to fickleneſs and folly.

Surely no warning example can be wanting, where eminent patterns for admiration and imitation fill the married and the conſtant ſcene:—examples ſo pre-eminent in this country, as contradiſtinguiſhed to moſt others, that I doubt not my reader has anticipated me; from experience, if married; if ſingle, from obſervation; that from whatever happy coinciding cauſes, ſociety in this country can boaſt more conſtancy, domeſtick

tick attachment, and matrimonial happineſs, than moſt.—If, oh! myſterious law! the baſe profanation of thy name and duties obtained attention, it was to bring forward thy tranſcendent charms in higher luſtre—for to conclude, as I began, with the great poet:—

" Far be it, that I ſhould write thee ſin or blame,
" Or think thee unbefitting holieſt place,
" Perpetual fountain of domeſtick ſweets!
" Whoſe bed is undefiled and chaſte pronounced,
" Preſent or paſt, as ſaints and patriarchs uſed.
" Here love his golden ſhafts employs, here lights
" His conſtant lamp, and waves his purple wings."

P.

NUMBER XVI.—MARCH 18, 1794.

Nil mihi reſcribas, attamen ipſe veni.

No *chit;* but *call your boys*, and come yourſelf.

MADRAS TRANSLATOR.

WHAT a tranſition it would be from the delectable lounge, of legs on one corner of the table, and pens and ink on the other, to the jolting

jolting ſprings of country-made carriages, or the grunts of country-made carriers, commonly called palankeen-boys; inſtead of writing florid epiſtles on every poſſible ſubject, friends in this country were to adopt the friendly hint of the Roman poet,—and meet and converſe like people in other parts of the world, in *propriâ perſonâ*.

Even in theſe wonderful and teeming times, of uniform change and inveterate novelty, ſo mighty a revolution can hardly be hoped for. An Engliſhman would be as ſoon perſuaded to give up his *Habeas Corpus*, as an Eaſt-Indian his *Burrah Chokey;* the *Magna Charta* of the one, is not ſo much read as the *chits* of the other; and people of buſineſs here are of ſo much more weight than at home, that it would be as difficult to move a merchant of Madras to the Exchange, as to keep a London broker from it.

One of my correſpondents ſome time ago very ingeniouſly diſcuſſed this diſpoſition to letters; though, perhaps, with too much ſeverity. Whether in the petty, but con-

ſtant and univerſal manufacture of *Chits*, which prevails here, it deſerves his appellation of *cacoëthes ſcribendi*, muſt be left to the judgment of the learned. But, be it worthy of praiſe or blame, the fact is certainly notorious, that in no part of the world is to be ſeen in more practice or perfection, the Art of Scribbling.—And, as another of my auxiliary friends remarked, in his late favour, that manners and language keep pace with each other, it is obſervable that in this favourite inſtance an appropriate phraſe has been very expreſſively applied. The ſmall ſcale on which this literary intercourſe is carried on, naturally ſuggeſts a pretty little infantine idea. The term *Chit*, therefore, which is well known to mean nothing more or leſs than a little child, is very properly adopted to ſignify this baby correſpondence. So in the poetical authority for this word, adduced by Dr. JOHNSON as deſcriptive of certain little politicians,

" Theſe will appear ſuch *Chits* in ſtory,
" 'Twill turn all politicks to jeſt."

Political

Political *Chits*, however, at leaſt of any polemick or controverſial caſt, are happily not very common in this country.—Diſcuſſions of that heating nature are better calculated for cooler climates.

The ſuperiority of talent of the gentler ſex, in all the pleaſurable and elegant intercourſes of life, is univerſally acknowledged; and not in any inſtances more, than in the facility of taſte with which they communicate their ideas both in converſation and correſpondence.—This double power is happily expreſſed in the compound epithet, deſcriptive of the two arts in which they excel;—*chit-chat:* evidently importing the ready faculty both of pen and tongue: powers very honourably recogniſed and expreſsly recorded by no leſs authority than the Spectator himſelf; who, my fair readers will remember, makes very handſome mention of a female ſociety, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *chit-chat-club.*

I have heard it remarked that, whatever may be the cauſes, the climate of India has not been found congenial to the inſtitution of clubs. But if ſuch a one as has been juſt

mentioned, were ſet on foot, the advantages reſulting therefrom would no doubt be powerful incentives to its ſupport.

When it is remembered that buſineſs and pleaſure turn equally on the common medium of *Chits,* and that ſkill and readineſs in writing them, ought therefore, according to HORACE, to gain every ſuffrage, as uniting the *utile dulci,* the writing branch of the inſtitution will certainly recommend itſelf.

And as to the other, ſtill more conſtantly in demand, though perhaps not of ſuch important uſe, the power of ſmall-talk, its conveniency in general, but particularly in publick places, in the performance either of a long concerto or ſermon, is too obvious to be inſiſted on.

On the ſubject of the conſtant little literary communication that flouriſhes here, it is obſervable that the modifications of ſtyle and addreſs, as requiſite to different perſons and ſubjects, are by no means ſufficiently aſcertained; eſpecially in the concluſion; which will be allowed to be the moſt deſirable part of moſt performances. The ſcale of incipient addreſs, for inſtance, though varying

varying conſiderably in its degrees from the diſtant Sir to My deareſt Friend!—yet admits not half ſo many colours and diſtinctions as the termination of a *Chit*. From your humble ſervant, proceeding with great reſpect, obediently, ſincerely, truly, &c. with all the variations of very and moſt,—about thirty-ſeven variations may be counted before we come to thine with everlaſting attachment! Is it not abſolutely neceſſary, to the carrying on both publick and private affairs with correctneſs, that theſe delicate diſtinctions ſhould be underſtood? My female ſtudents, it is hoped, will be particularly careful, even of a Dear Sir, when they know, that a promiſe of marriage was extracted by ſome old-faſhioned caſuiſts out of a very innocent flouriſh that only intended love and affection.

As to ſuperſcriptions, little difficulty remains; the general rule now being to write the word Eſquire after every name whatſoever that is not military or eccleſiaſtick. This is an admirable expedient to prevent both trouble and offence, by equalizing all profeſſions and ſtations; and is an high improvement

provement on the levelling ſyſtem of equality introduced elſewhere, which appeared to partake a little of envy, in endeavouring to pull down dignities and orders: but this, in the nobler ſpirit of emulation, aſpires, with manly arrogance to itſelf, and without derogation from others.

To return to the prevalence and uſe of the *Chit*, and conſequently the deſirableneſs of a *Chit Society*, with proper profeſſors to promote its practice and ſcience, eſpecially among young gentlemen and ladies newly arrived from Europe, I have only to add my hopes of being favoured with a few *chits* on the ſubject, with additional hints and propoſals.

P.

NUMBER XVII.—MARCH 25, 1794.

Our ſcene precariouſly ſubſiſts too long,
On French tranſlation and Italian ſong;
Dare to have ſenſe yourſelves; aſſert the ſtage,
Be juſtly warm'd with your own native rage:
Such plays alone ſhould pleaſe a Britiſh ear,
As CATO's ſelf had not diſdain'd to hear.

POPE.

IF ſuch were the patriotick remonſtrance of the poet at the beginning of the century, the ſame ſentiments would have been expreſſed by him at leaſt with equal zeal in later times. For it is certain, that French faſhions and French taſte eſtabliſhed, principally under the magnificent auſpices of LOUIS XIV. a very general ſway in Europe; which was long arrogated, eſpecially in matters of literature, with a high ſpirit of critical monopoly.

Men are too apt to give credit to proud pretenſions; to ſuppoſe that where much is aſſumed, ſomething is deſerved; and indolently to pay the debt that inſolence exacts, rather

rather than take the trouble of examining the account.

Thus the French criticks remained in almoſt undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the dictatorial chair, even after the decline of the ſplendour of their country; which in the earlier conqueſts and glory of LOUIS, had given a plauſible pre-eminence to their literature as well as their arms.

The munificence of the court had alſo contributed not a little to dignify the claims of the *Beaux Eſprits* of France. They were gratified with ample reward, and honoured with high diſtinction. Embodied in ſocieties and academies, they were protected by royal favour, and commanded national reſpect; and mutually ſupported by the *eſprit de corps*, which prevails as ſtrongly in literary aſſociation as any other, they were enabled long to maintain their ſovereignty, eſpecially in the branches of humane and polite learning. In the more abſtruſe reſearches, indeed, of philoſophy, moral and natural, as the original genius of BACON pointed out the path, ſo the perſevering powers

powers of LOCKE, and GROTIUS, and NEWTON, purſued their ſucceſsful way.

But though England and her allies could thus boaſt of victorious commanders in the great warfare of literature, as they did in effect in the military field, againſt the encroaching ambition of their neighbour; yet could they not ſtem or rival the progreſs of their language and ſtyle of compoſition, the correctneſs of their poetry and antitheſis of their proſe, their coolneſs of criticiſm and regularity of taſte; inculcated as all theſe have been and exemplified, from the RAPINS and the PERRAULTS, to their great and admired partiſan VOLTAIRE.

It were an undertaking too diffuſe for my limits, to enter on a particular conſideration of the ſubjects to which I have alluded. But I cannot omit one remark as to that ſpecies of poetry which is generally admitted to be of the higheſt order, the Epick, as demonſtrative in the inſtance of the great name I have quoted, of the frigid rules and partial taſte which his elegant country was too willing to adopt, relative to that noble ſubject. It is a certain fact, that VOLTAIRE'S

TAIRE's *Henriade* was generally eſteemed in France as the beſt of all Epick Poems! His own opinion is very eaſily collected, from his diſquiſition into the demerits of all others, particularly the Paradiſe Loſt of MILTON.

There are, however, who think that the Dramatick Muſe ought to have precedence among the Nine, and particularly that the Tragick is entitled to the firſt place. Still more immediately perſonifying the actions and paſſions of men through the boundleſs regions of Nature, whence to ſelect variety, the Drama admits, and perhaps requires higher flights of fancy, than the works of the Hiſtorick or Epick Muſe. Here, therefore, peculiarly interferes the regulation of unfeeling art, and timid taſte. The Critick of Ferney, unable to ſoar with the "ample pinion" of the Avon-eagle, cenſures his noble daring as wild and eccentrick,—and while SHAKESPEARE is gazed at by

"Exiſtence as he ſcorns her bounded reign,
"And panting Time toils after him in vain,"—

we are very coolly told that he has violated all the *unities*.

The

The ſame ſpirit of inſipid correctneſs crept very generally ſome years ago into the criticiſm and compoſition of comedies. The other extreme of licentious abuſe, which had taken its riſe from, and was too congenial to, the court of CHARLES II. certainly required correction. But it was unfortunate that the corrective which was applied, by the act for licenſing the ſtage, or the faſhion of French tranſlation that followed, ſuppreſſed the true comick ſpirit with the falſe and improper, and left nothing but ſentimental dregs behind. Then enſued the reign of dulneſs, affecting the diſtinction of elegance, and ſenſibility ſhining in ſtudied ſentences: and the yawning audiences, undiſturbed by mirth or vulgar humour, were gently lulled with dialogue without wit, plot without intereſt, and ſentiment without virtue.

A brighter æra dawned on the Britiſh theatre, when the admirable author of the School for Scandal (even to the remoteſt parts it is hardly neceſſary to particularize the name of SHERIDAN) demonſtrated how conſiſtent with decorum may be the moſt exquiſite

exquiſite humour, and that the fineſt wit may beſt promote the moral purpoſe of the ſtage.

It has been a peculiarly pleaſing exerciſe of *Indian obſervation*, to ſee a ſubject of ſuch excellent uſe and entertainment, as the theatrical is allowed to be, cultivated with ſuch happy ſucceſs, in this ſcene. The above thoughts have been thrown together, for the purpoſe of promoting its beſt cultivation; and to point to thoſe parterres of the garden, where it may yield the richeſt fruit. It cannot ripen on the ſickly ſcyon of French tranſlation, or the barren ſtock of Italian ſong. The inferiority of the latter muſt have been obvious to all, who heard the late contradiſtinguiſhed excellence of the manly and natural ſtrains of HANDEL. And of the inferior comedy, whether it be direct plagiariſm from other languages, or the late invented ſnip-ſnap reply and pantomime dialogue, uſurping the place of natural incident and moral entertainment,—whether it be Engliſh farce, or foreign *entre-met*,—ſurely no reader or ſpectator, acquainted with SHAKESPEARE, and ſome of

of his ſucceſſors on the ſcene, will heſitate to pronounce a preference.

A late tragick inſtance, in real life, which he ſo exactly pourtrayed, may not be an unworthy tribute of record to the immortal Father of the Drama.

After a deſperate action between a ſmuggling-veſſel and a King's cutter, the captain of the former boarded his enemy. The commander of the cutter was in the power of the conqueror, who, in the act of ſtriking, withheld his hand—"I cannot kill him, he is ſo like my father!"—My reader will inſtantly remember Lady Macbeth and Duncan, 'Had he not reſembled my father as he ſlept, I had done it!'—Every ſenſible heart will form the comment.

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NUMBER XVIII.—APRIL 1, 1794.

Laudumque immenſa cupido. VIRGIL.

—And boundleſs thirſt of fame.

OUR great moral poet tells us, in ſome of his didactick ſatires, or epiſtles, I forget which, that hope is the moſt comfortable and conſtant companion of our life;—that it ſticks to our laſt ſtand, conſoles even diſſolution itſelf,—nor "quits us when we die."

I hope that none of my readers will be indiſpoſed to the opinion of the poetical moraliſt, ſo ſupporting as it is to the mind in "the various turns of fate below;" and I truſt, therefore, it may not be unpleaſing to them, if I endeavour to enter on the ſubject with ſome particularity, as to the objects of that ruling paſſion in the minds of our countrymen, in this country.

Power, wealth, and fame (in its beſt ſenſe) are, in all parts of the world, the great objects of human purſuit. Exceptions, it is true, may be adduced, of conduct,

duct, independent of all these allowed attractions, disinterested even as to fame, and turning solely on its own axis, of pure benevolence and liberality. But the rarity of such exception is the strongest demonstration of the general rule.

It is not, however, by any means intended to depreciate the aspiring views of ambition, the industrious attentions of commerce, or the honourable pursuit of glory. The respective principles that prompt to each, on the supposition always that they act through just and proper means, are admirably conducive to publick prosperity, and consequently to private happiness.

As to the first, although it must be allowed, that desire of power or publick sway cannot, and ought not to have much immediate operation as to individual ambition, in settlements far distant from the sources of authority in the state, and which are in their nature commercial and military, rather than colonial; yet, are not to be excluded the fair prospects and hopes of stations the most honourable, to be deserved through gradations of either service, and ultimately attained by

by merit; as in ſome inſtances has been happily exemplified, and it is to be hoped, will be in many more.

It will not be neceſſary to expatiate on the next branch of the queſtion, the ſucceſsful purſuit of fair emolument in this country, from the commercial and political ſervice of the ſtate. It is a fortunate concurrence, indeed, where, as in the flouriſhing eſtabliſhment of our commerce and power in this country, the advantage of individuals is ſo amply ſupported by, and promoted in proportion to, the proſperity of the publick. And it is a peculiarly pleaſing ſubject of obſervation, that not only thoſe who are in the immediate ſervice of theſe eſtabliſhments, partake ſo amply their proſperity; but that they who purſue their own commercial projects under the publick protection, are both able and willing to give effectual aid to the publick cauſe: as appears in the late equipments of private veſſels, and the liberal ſubſcriptions for that purpoſe. This is the true commercial circulation of protection received, and aſſiſtance repaid. The rich ſtreams that have flowed through the arteries

of

of protected trade, return through the grateful veins, to support the source from whence they issued.

Thus it has been pleasing to contemplate the influence of honourable and public spirited motives, in those pursuits where they are not generally expected to be found; at least, not so much as in others. For it must be acknowledged, that the third subject intended to be considered, the pure and disinterested love of fame, is particularly appropriate to the profession of arms. Every honourable breast, it is true, must be animated by it; but it is obvious, that it belongs more to the military character than any other; that it is more directly the object of the soldier, and that the means of attaining it, according to the usual acceptation, and in the general eye of mankind, are more immediately competent to the dangers and triumphs of war, than any other walk of life.

This will be the more readily admitted, when the qualities requisite to military service, and those naturally arising from it, are recollected to be of the most generous

nature. Contempt of danger, patience of fatigue, ſacrifice of every convenience and indulgence, — of any ſelfiſh conſideration whatſoever, that can interfere with the character of a ſoldier; — promptitude in obeying command, and temper in exerciſing it; in captivity, fidelity and fortitude, and towards the captive, clemency; in fine, prudence in the plan, zeal in the action, and moderation in the victory;—theſe are ſome of the characteriſtick qualities of the military profeſſion, of which it is not extraordinary that the companion ſhould be a diſintereſted paſſion for glory.

A generous ſympathy alſo with the ſituations of others, and affectionate attachment in conſequence to the fellow-ſufferers of hardſhips and dangers, muſt be more often the leſſon, and more deeply impreſſed, in the rugged ſchool of military experience, that in other ſmoother habits of life. But of the various inſtances of fellow-ſufferings among military men, whether in the fatigues of the field, or the cruelties of captivity, it is certain that no country can be more fertile than this. It cannot be doubted, from the

he happy example of thoſe who have ſurvived them, that this country can alſo boaſt in proportion, the virtues conſequent on trials ſo ſevere:

——— "Sublimeſt virtue, and *deſire of fame*,
"Where juſtice gives the laurel:—
"The inextinguiſhable ſpark which fires
"The ſouls of patriots:—
"Undaunted valour, and contempt of death."

The *Indian Obſerver*, muſt have forfeited his title, if he had not paid attention to the ſubject of an anniverſary obſervance which occurred on the 23d of the month:—the liberation of our countrymen from the priſons of the Myſore monarch, in the year 1784. Conſideration of their military ſuffering led principally to the few foregoing thoughts on the military condition and character. And a contemplation of their happy releaſe having ſuggeſted the following lines, thrown together, as I underſtand, rather on the ſpur of the occaſion, than with any critical care, I ſhall take the liberty of concluding this paper with them, as applicable to the latter part of my ſubject.

* IN life's career, what various ſcenes
The mingled proſpect form?
Sorrows ſurround;—joy intervenes;
Sunſhine ſucceeds the ſtorm.

Dejected now, the merchant ſees
His richeſt hope o'erthrown:—
Another venture!—Wealth and eaſe
His warmeſt wiſhes crown.

Behold yon hapleſs lover lie—
Hear him his torments breathe:
Now ſee his triumph's ecſtacy,
Bleſs'd with love's happieſt wreath.

Hark! was not that the Patriot's groan
Amidſt the *Rights of Men!*
Deſpair not Virtue! Juſtice ſoon
Shall vindicate her reign.

Then civil ſtrife, if ought more fell
Can wring the generous mind,
Speak noble hearts:—'tis yours to tell
In barbarous chains confined.

The dying hero, proud of death
In honourable war,
Embraces fate: and his laſt breath
Triumphs in every ſcar.

But ſay, ye, Whoſe barbarian doom
Impoſed the Tyrant's chain,—
In dungeon ſunk,—a living tomb,—
In almoſt hopeleſs pain!

Say,

Say, could he hope that equal fate
  Had bleſſings yet in ſtore?
That joys ſhould follow, ſure, though late,
  And fortune frown no more?

—That glory's ſun again ſhould riſe,
  Through fate, ſeverely kind:
As gold the fierceſt fire defies,
  Approved, enhanced, refined.

Yes, noble friends! in life's career
  You've reach'd the honour'd goal;
And ſocial happineſs is here,
  And friendſhip's flow of ſoul.

And here no changes intervene,
  No varied proſpect's found;
Life's drama boaſts this conſtant ſcene,
  Friendſhip with honour crown'd.

The Tyrant's iron was a fleeting pain:—
Conſtant the joys of ſweet affection's chain.

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NUMBER

NUMBER XIX.—APRIL 8, 1794.

Judge we by Nature? Habit can efface,
Int'reſt o'ercome, or policy take place:—
By Actions?—Thoſe, uncertainty divides;
By Paſſions?—Theſe, diſſimulation hides;
Opinions?—They ſtill take a wider range;
Find, if you can, in what you cannot change.
Manners with fortunes; Humours turn with climes,
Tenets with books, and Principles with times.

POPE.

TO repreſs, as it might ſeem, the pride of human reſearch, and to repel the vain pretenſions of human genius, the wiſeſt of men has pronounced, that there is nothing new under the ſun.

The great ſatiriſt, at the head of my paper, gives a reaſoned opinion, which muſt appear ſtill more derogatory to the dignity and value of the purſuits of the human mind,—that there is no conſtancy or uniformity to be found in the human character.

On the firſt poſition it may not be requiſite here to make further remarks, than what may vindicate it from any apparent conſequence as diſcouraging to learning. Properly

perly conſidered, it ought rather to operate as an incentive to inveſtigation; and to a laudable emulation, at leaſt, in the recovery of long loſt arts, or the exerciſe of thoſe tranſmitted from ancient ſtore. And though, in the remote and abſtract ſenſe, as intended by the royal philoſopher, it may be agreed, that there is nothing actually new in nature; yet induſtrious reſearch in tracing her ſecrets, and in the moral world, judicious combinations of ideas and correction of ſyſtems may claim the merit, morally ſpeaking, of invention, and confer the crown of genius even on modern talents, exerciſing new means, at leaſt, for the great object,—the wiſdom and happineſs of mankind.

But if the poet's cenſure be juſt, that the ſpirit of change pervades the actions, paſſions and opinions of men, what will avail the moſt fertile fancy, towards the improvement of wiſdom; or the beſt original diſpoſition, to the attainment of moral happineſs?

It has been remarked, that the acknowledged ſuperiority of the ancients in the higher walks of literature,—a ſuperiority never

never brought into ſerious queſtion I believe ſince the decided defeat of the modern Don Quixotes, BENTLEY and WOTTON, by TEMPLE, BERKELEY, and SWIFT,—might be principally attributed to the ſcrupulous and ſedulous care with which thoſe great ancient maſters limited themſelves to the purſuit of their reſpective lines of ſtudy and learning.

This care included not only a perſevering attention to finiſh their works with the higheſt poliſh, on the critical reviſal after a patient interval of nine years *,—but an excluſive attachment each to the object of his purſuit. They knew that no man could ſerve two Muſes, but that by a divided attempt to propitiate both miſtreſſes, he would deſerve neither:—each devoted himſelf to one; and like the patient knights of romance, gained finally the reward of his conſtant toils.

* *Nonum prematur in annum.* HOR.—It is a curious anecdote of a modern royal author, that he has extended the term of quieſcence to his works, (and they were not few) to thirty years. Till that period ſhall have elapſed after the death of the late King of Sweden, his works are not to be publiſhed or inſpected.

Of

Of the great father of Epick poetry, we do not know any other compoſitions than the Iliad and Odyſſey; except a little *jeu d'eſprit* of the battle of the frogs and mice: which, though rather light perhaps and burleſque, it muſt be remembered it is ſtill a battle.

The extraordinary and chaſte ſolicitude is well known, with which his Epick ſucceſſor *(ſequiturque patrem)* endeavoured to give perfection to the Æneid; a ſolicitude ſo nice, that he deſired, by his laſt will, the poem ſhould be burned, on account of ſuppoſed inaccuracies. Fortunately, the executor was a claſſical friend, who preferred his taſte to his duty. VIRGIL's works were alſo few; but excellent in proportion.

The ſame continuity of purſuit and care of excellence, are ſeen through the long illuſtrious line of Greek and Roman philoſophers, orators, hiſtorians and poets. The former diſputed and harangued in the ſchool, each the profeſſor of his peculiar art; and the fair pages of CLIO and her tuneful ſiſters were pure and unmixed with baſer matter. How different the multifarious

ous medley of modern authors! and the motley produce of that wonderful modern engine the Preſs, groaning at the ſame time, and perhaps from the ſame hand, with folios of divinity and duodecimos of ſcandal. It is almoſt in vain to hunt after the real character, or the proper talents, of ſome of our faſhionable authors, in a modern bookcaſe. They elude the purſuit like Proteus, and aſſume a new form at every turn. A grave philoſopher on one ſhelf, will be found friſking in epigram, or lying in lampoon, on another; and hiſtory herſelf, in all her charms, may be detected in very dangerous aſſignations with ſcepticiſm and metaphyſicks; and committing her character very ſuſpiciouſly with ſome infidel favourites.

When only the weakneſs incident thus to wanton change and fickleneſs is inſiſted on in literary purſuits, it may not be neceſſary to take occaſion of avowing a proportionate reſpect and admiration for the eminent merits of thoſe who, conſtant to the cauſe of truth, intellectual and moral, inveſtigate her receſſes with the rays of real taſte; and who reflect, even in theſe days,

back

back to the luminous models of ancient time, the brilliant and ſteady lights of genius and virtue.

But as the mutability of character intended in my motto, is rather moral than intellectual, relating more to the ſentiments, than the operations of the mind, it may be proper to deſcend from the literary ſphere, to mix in the walks, and obſerve the conduct of men, and then to decide whether "manners turn with fortunes."

On that queſtion, little experience of the world will be requiſite to form a general deciſion. But care ought to be obſerved, not to pronounce it with abſolute cenſure. It is, at leaſt, perfectly natural to the heart of man, to feel elation in proſperity, and dejection in diſtreſs. Thoſe uncommon and rare ſpirits, who are unmoved and unchanged by either, are heroical exceptions to the general rule founded on the human character.

On the other hand, it is to be hoped, for the honour of human nature, that exceſſive inſtances of upſtart pride and callous good fortune, or of abject deſpair and dejection in adverſity,

adverſity, ought not to be admitted as characteriſtick of mankind. That they ſometimes occur, many have ſeen; that their contraries often exiſt, more have opportunities of ſhewing: but when they do happen, all perhaps ought to concur, that they ſhould be rather pitied as failings, than condemned as vices; contemptible, more than criminal; ariſing from the ſame impotence of mind, and equally unable to bear the frigid blaſts of adverſity, or the torrid rays of a too proſperous and vertical ſun.

This might lead me to the change of "humours with climes;"—if the foregoing reflections had not carried me further than I foreſaw. That changeability, however, with the others mentioned, may be reſumed in a future paper. Though as to "tenets changing with books" the diſcuſſion perhaps may not be exactly in point in this country, where it muſt be confeſſed, reading is not an epidemical diſeaſe. "Principles with times," it is feared may in ſome degree be applied to all:—though, by no means in the great extent it is generally received; nor with juſtice be imputed to many

many great and high characters in political life; againſt whom this, and common-place railing, are charged by their adverſaries, in default of argument and defiance of candour.

P.

NUMBER XX.—APRIL 22, 1794.

Facit indignatio verſum. JUV.

IF any apology were requiſite for dedicating this *Obſerver* to the following ſpirited poem, the higheſt poſſible authority might be referred to, in the example of the Spectator. The readers of that admirable work will remember the happy introduction of ſome poetical papers, doing equal honour to the authors, and pleaſure to the publick.

When ſuch an inimitable example is referred to, it muſt be, as the *Obſerver* took early occaſion to premiſe, and from experience finds ample reaſon to know, at a moſt reſpectful and aweful diſtance. But he hopes

to

to be more excuſed in ſuch reference, by the merit of the following, than any attempt of his own.—The candid critick will not, however, expect the parched plains of India, or bungaloes in the land-winds, will hardly tempt the Aonian maids, wont to diſport,—fanned by the fragrant zephyrs,—on the banks of Tibur and of Thames, in the Virgilian villa, or the Twickenham grotto. But though our poet's verſe ſwell not with Pollio's praiſes, nor aſpires to invoke the nymphs of Solyma; yet it is hoped that the well choſen intereſts, in this country, of the ſubjects he treats, and the manly boldneſs and poetical ſpirit with which they are diſcuſſed, will well repay the attention of Indian readers.

AN

AN ADDRESS

TO THE

COMPANY's SERVANTS:

WRITTEN WHEN THE INDIA BILLS APPEARED IN THE BEGINNING OF 1785; WITH OCCASIONAL ADDITIONS.

IN orient climes, where griping tyrants reign,
And paſſive Indians drag the ſlaviſh chain:
Where ſickly dams, their noxious influence ſhed,
And burning ſuns ſtrike Europeans dead:
Where ſenates (tho' 'tis fellow-ſubjects feel,)
Erect the inquiſition and the wheel;
Shall one of Freedom's ſons preſume t' engage,
Deſpotick power, and vindictive rage;
Oppoſing juſtice to the mighty throng,
Who from deſign, or ignorance, are wrong?
Yes, Truth inſpires and animates his ſong.

Outcaſts of every country, hither roam,
And 'ſtead of halters, villains find a home.
Some Britons too, regardleſs of their truſt,
Become rapacious, cruel, and unjuſt,
Accurs'd be all the vile, degen'rate race,
The ſlaves of av'rice, and the tools of place:
The cringing herd, the proud oppreſſive throng,
Doers themſelves, or advocates of wrong;
Yet let not cenſure undiſtinguiſh'd fall,
Illiberal cenſure,—that includes us all;

Av'rice

Av'rice in power, to oppreſſion drives,
Premiers in England, and in India, Clives:
And who deſerve moſt from their country—they,
Who ſav'd an empire, or threw one away?
Periſh the wretch! who'd plead a villain's cauſe,
Approve injuſtice or pervert the laws:
But indiſcriminate vengeance why purſue?
Degrading thouſands, for a ſcoundrel few.

Say, ye, who know mankind, what happy place,
Is bleſt ſupremely, in a blameleſs race—
Say, are to Europe's ſhores alone confin'd,
Goodneſs of heart and rectitude of mind?
Muſt virtue, honour, taſte, and feeling die,
Tranſplanted hither from a northern ſky?
At what degree, receding from the line,
Muſt worth and knowledge firſt begin to ſhine?
Here vice and ignorance, triumphant rule,
And every man's a ſcoundrel or a fool.
So cries the vulgar prejudice, which blinds,
Contracts and hardens all ignoble minds.

Hail SWARTZ! diſpenſer of unerring truth,
Pattern of age, and monitor of youth,
Pure in your heart, the pious ardours glow,
Pure from your lips the ſacred precepts flow;
Pure in your life, their energy appears,
Soften'd, improv'd, and dignified by years.
That martial ardour in theſe climes can dwell,
Let COOTE, SMITH, LAWRENCE, and their armies tell.
That generous feelings are not dead or weak,
Let the glad orphan, and the widow ſpeak.

What

What friend to man, who hears th' affecting theme,
But glows at CAMPBELL's and KIRKPATRICK's name?
Exalted ſouls, accept a ſtranger's praiſe,
Who would not ſink, but dignify his lays,
Let vice to vice the venal meed impart,
Be yours what flows ſpontaneous from the heart;
Be yours the thanks, the hapleſs orphan owes,
For unhop'd comfort, and for leſſen'd woes.
Be yours ſuch thanks, as muſt reproach the vile,
The Virgin's bluſhes, and the Infant's ſmile.

Here knowledge by benevolence refin'd,
Forms mighty plans, to benefit mankind,
From diſtant lands, their uſeful ſtores to bring,
In barren wilds, to make rich harveſts ſpring,
With mighty banks, the river's courſe reſtrain,
And pour new treaſures o'er the thirſty plain,
Sources of wealth unfold, unknown before,
To guard from want the hovel of the poor,
And while ſuch varied worth our *World* diſplays,
Be mine the honours to record and praiſe.

That ſuffering virtue here aſpires to fame,
Let TIPPOO's captives, to the world proclaim.
Shock'd at the thought with pity and diſdain,
Joy beats for entrance at my heart in vain.
I hear ſad groans, from deep, dark dungeons riſe,
(The moans of *Freedom* 'neath *Oppreſſion*'s ſkies!)
Where ſunk in horrors, and convuls'd with pains,
Indignant Britons ſhake their galling chains.

If theſe ſad ſcenes, the gen'rous ſoul impreſs
With ſympathetick feeling, for diſtreſs,

Let mildneſs and humanity aſſuage,
The giddy tranſports of intemp'rate rage;
And when the menial hireling meekly ſtands,
With trembling frame, and ſupplicating hands;
Repreſs blind *wrath*, let gentle mercy move,
And when you puniſh, puniſh to improve:—
Ye powers of ſoft benignity! what can
Make man exert the tyrant over man?
'Tis cowardice!—the virtuous, and the brave,
Diſdain to ſtrike an unreſiſting ſlave.
But few ſuch crimes—Yes, ſpite of party rage,
Truth ſhall be told, and in an Indian page.
Stateſmen may err, but candour muſt maintain,
We hold the Natives with too looſe a rein:
Train'd to ſubmiſſion, arrogance with fears,
And indolence, with avarice appears:
Subtle they crouch, beneath ſuperior pow'r,
But unreſtrain'd, inſult, betray, devour.
Feeble with pride, with ſuperſtition, knaves,
They will be tyrants, or they muſt be ſlaves.
Far as tradition can their conduct trace,
The ſame characteriſticks mark the race.
Change firſt, the fervour of this burning clime,
Then baniſh errors, ſanctified by time.
Reverſe the order of the rolling year,
Then hope, that Liberty will flouriſh here:—
Our laws, religion, cuſtoms, they deteſt,
Convinc'd their own are wiſeſt, pureſt, beſt:
Indians will not enjoy, perverſely blind,
The God-like freedom of an Engliſh mind:
Give them, of liberty, the ampleſt ſhare
Their preſent habits can with ſafety bear,

Think

Think not at once, to change, by hopes, or fears,
The abject ſlav'ry of unnumber'd years.
In ſlow progreſſion, human wiſdom draws,
Mildneſs with force, and liberty with laws:
When full, the ſocial energies expand,
Burſt as in Britain forth, in freedom grand.
Our complicated forms to introduce,
Would be unjuſt and cruel, without uſe.
Shock not the prejudice you can't remove,
O'erturn not ancient ſyſtems, but improve.
Our legal ſubtleties reſtricted ſway,
Would only teach them, how to diſobey;
Unlike a native deſpot's iron hand,
Remorſeleſs, cruſhing all a proſtrate land.
Yet all, who know this country, muſt agree
That we grow ſlaves, while ſlaves are growing free;
Denied a right that ſhould to all extend,
The ſacred intercourſe 'tween friend and friend,
Expos'd, and in ſtrict ſtatute fetters bound,
The legal prey of every harpy round—
Beware, Britannia! leſt misjudging law
Deſtroys that power it only meant to awe.
Beware, leſt warm'd by real or fancied woes,
You blind your friends, and liberate your foes.
Britons, to freedom's glorious bleſſings born,
Should view the enſlavers of mankind with ſcorn;
With love fraternal, brother Britons own,
Alike, in England and the torrid zone;
O'er injur'd worth, ſhould ſpread a ſeven-fold ſhield,
And draw the ſword which Juſtice bids them wield.

Exiles from thoſe beſt bleſſings, Heaven can ſend,
The tender parent, and the early friend,
Entwin'd with every fibre of the heart—
Say ye who 've felt, how dreadful 'twas to part?
What more afflictions are we doom'd to bear?
Diſtreſs, diſeaſe, captivity ſevere.
What our rewards? when ſickneſs ſhakes the frame,
And life's laſt ember caſts a doubtful gleam.
Can we, before the vital ſpirit flies,
Seek renovation, under native ſkies?
Thoſe who have wealth may go—all muſt reſign,
And empty coffers ſuit not health's decline.
Sad choice! to ſtarve, or hopeleſs pains endure,
Rejuveneſcence is not for the poor.
What more rewards?—Should one become a peſt,
The publick odium faſtens on the reſt.
By partial laws inſulted and confin'd,
By vileneſs call'd the vileſt of mankind,
Defeated Generals, Admirals who fled,
(While envy ſcowls from each unlaurell'd head)
The ins and outs whoſe mad contending rage,
The ſtate diſmember'd, and convuls'd the age,
Contractors, ſharpers, pickpockets, and Jews,
The dregs of ſenates, pillories, and ſtews,
All join, with friendly ardour to declaim,
And our delinquency, th' exhauſtleſs theme:
A league like this would raiſe to ſpirit brave
The torpid meanneſs of an Aſian ſlave,
And ſhall not we, t'aſſert our birthright dare?
Not tell the wrongs, th' indignities we bear?
Heavens! are we loſt to glory and to ſhame,
Or bear we aught of Britons but the name?

Yes,

Yes, here, even here, great liberty inſpires,
The ſocial virtues, and the patriot fires.
Nor need Britannia bluſh her ſons to own,
Their minds elate to honour's walks are prone.
Like our great anceſtors then let us ſtand,
Againſt the proud oppreſſors of the land.
Like them the voice of freedom boldly raiſe,
With Roman firmneſs ſpurn tyrannick ways,
Bid Kings and Senates the right road diſcern,
Juſt to the juſt, and to the lawleſs ſtern,
Gentle, yet ſtedfaſt; loyal, yet unaw'd;
And future ages ſhall our deeds applaud.

Whether we ſhiver underneath the pole,
Or o'er our heads the world's enlightner roll;
Whether enjoying pleaſure, rank, and wealth,
Or loſt to joy, to competence, and health;
Superior riſing to the vulgar ſprings,
And changing ſcenes of ſublunary things;
With minds untainted with the luſt of gold,
Honour unſullied, honeſty unfold,
Prepar'd alike for happineſs or ill,
Let us remember—we are Britons ſtill.

NUMBER XXI.—APRIL 29, 1794.

Trahit sua quemque voluptas.

Various our tastes, and each pursues his own.

Seldom favoured with friendly communications, I am the more obliged by the following; which, without further preface, I have the pleasure of laying before my readers.

TO THE INDIAN OBSERVER.

SIR,

IT was not without much pleasure that I saw in some of your former lucubrations, disquisitions into the merits of the several arts that adorn and improve society; with well-timed observations, calculated to incite the publick attention to their promotion and encouragement.

Though neither artist nor connoisseur, author nor critick, I profess myself an *amateur* of every thing agreeable. Approving, therefore, as far as my limited talent will admit, of the ingenious researches with which you

you have favoured the publick, into the comparative powers of poetry and oratory, painting and muſick, give me leave to expreſs my ſurpriſe that the latter, which has been generally ſuppoſed to be the moſt attractive of any, appears not to be popular or faſhionable at preſent. I know, Sir, according to the proverb, that it is in vain to argue on taſte: or to demonſtrate to the mind that it muſt be pleaſed. Perſuaſion againſt the feelings has no more effect, than conviction againſt the will; which, according to a very high, though facetious authority, produces only a continuance in the ſame opinion. But the underſtanding may be called in aid with ſome ſucceſs, eſpecially if ſeconded with a little honeſt pride, to diſſuade from frivolous levities, and adopt habits, at leaſt—which may grow into inclinations,—for elegant amuſements and rational pleaſure.

Hamlet ſtrongly urges his mother "to aſſume a virtue, if ſhe has it not." It is rather extraordinary, that thoſe to whom Stepdame Nature has denied refinement of intellect or ſenſibility of ſoul, ſhould not deſire

deſire to diſſemble their effects; and by aſſuming proper appearances, endeavour to catch ſomething of the reality. This would be at leaſt an innocent, and might be an uſeful affection.

Even in ſubjects more ſerious, hypocriſy has been conſidered as a compliment to virtue; and is a proof of ſome remnant of ſenſe in the profeſſor, by his attempt to conform, in appearance, to the right underſtanding of mankind. But not to be too ſerious on the ſubject on which I addreſs you—which, no doubt, your penetration has diſcovered to be neither more nor leſs than the private attendance of our publick concerts,—can you account, Sir, with all your acute obſerving, for this extraordinary fact; or rather, this negative of fact and taſte? No hearers of HANDEL's choſen ſtrains; no enraptured admirers of the nicely touched key, the ſwelling ſtring, or the ſtill more melodious harmony of the various voice.

As I am little better than an unfledged Griffin, according to the faſhionable phraſe here, and newly arrived from a diſtant reſidence,—

dence,—the empty benches of the concert-room naturally ſuggeſted an idea to me, that ſome high attractive entertainments, of very ſuperior order, reigned throughout the accompliſhed ſociety. Learned Lycœums preſented themſelves to my imagination; or, ſtill more attractive, becauſe heightened with female taſte and beauty, the elegant *Converſazione, des Bals parés*, and *Fêtes al freſco*. —Alas!—none of theſe.—*Tredrille* triumphed, alone,—in preference: unleſs rivalled a little by the younger favourite *Vingt-un:* whoſe name, modeſtly enough, denotes the limit of attention due to him; and that it is all thrown away, if continued beyond the years of diſcretion.

The following juſt picture, from the maſter-hand of ARMSTRONG, will better elucidate, than I can pretend to do, the merits of this admirable art. Whoever reads it with "muſick in his ſoul," will require no other comment:—and whoever ſees it without that congenial light, ſtands already ſentenced and excommunicated by the chief judge of the human heart.

MELOPHILOS.

THERE

THERE is a charm, a pow'r that ſways the breaſt,
Bids every paſſion revel or be ſtill;
Inſpires with rage, or all your cares diſſolves;
Can ſoothe diſtraction, and almoſt deſpair.
That pow'r is muſick: far beyond the ſtretch
Of thoſe unmeaning warblers on our ſtage;
Thoſe clumſy heroes, thoſe fat-headed gods,
Who move no paſſion juſtly but contempt:
Who, like our dancers (light indeed and ſtrong!)
Do wondrous feats, but never heard of grace.
The fault is ours: we bear thoſe monſtrous arts:
Good Heaven! we praiſe them: we with loudeſt peals
Applaud the fool that higheſt lifts his heels,
And with inſipid ſhew of rapture, die,
Of idiot notes impertinently long.
But he the Muſe's laurel juſtly ſhares,
A poet he, and touch'd with Heaven's own fire,
Who with bold rage, or ſolemn pomp of ſounds,
Inflames, exalts, and raviſhes the ſoul;
Now tender, plaintive, ſweet almoſt to pain,
In love diſſolves you; now in ſprightly ſtrains
Breathes a gay rapture thro' your thrilling breaſt,
Or melts the heart with airs divinely ſad,
Or wakes to horror the tremendous ſtrings.
Such was the bard whoſe heavenly ſtrains of old
Appeas'd the fiend of melancholy Saul.
Such was, if old and heathen fame ſay true,
The man who bade the Theban domes aſcend,
And tam'd the ſavage nations with his ſong;
And ſuch the Thracian, whoſe harmonious lyre,
Tun'd to ſoft woe made all the mountains weep;
Sooth'd ev'n th' inexorable pow'rs of Hell,

And

And half redeem'd his loſt EURYDICE.
Muſick exalts each joy, allays each grief,
Expels diſeaſes, ſoftens ev'ry pain,
Subdues the rage of poiſon, and the plague;
And hence the wiſe of ancient days ador'd
One pow'r of phyſic, melody and ſong.

P.

NUMBER XXII.—MAY 20, 1794.

Vix ea noſtra voco.

Rare is the rightful claim to genuine praiſe.

AMONG the pretenders, who in various ways attempt to impoſe on the credulity of their fellow creatures, it is not to be wondered that literary impoſtors ſhould be found. In contemplating the charms of literary fame, and taking into the account the proverbial vanity of authors, ſome allowance may fairly be made for a little deception, in the means uſed to attain the object.

Plagiariſm is, perhaps, the moſt innocent impoſture that can be played off againſt the publick.

publick. If it be detected, it is evident that no evil enſues; on the contrary, it brings forward in a ſtrong contraſt, and with the higheſt conſtructive compliment, the original beauties which the plagiariſt had aſpired to appropriate: and even if it ſhould ſucceed, where is the eſſential or moral harm?—Not like the hypocrite in religion or the ſerious duties of life, the literary impoſtor gratifies an innocent vanity; for, though contemptible enough as to the perſon, that can hardly be called criminal, which has no injurious conſequences either to individuals or ſociety.

I was deſirous to clear my way on this ſubject, and to remove as effectually as I could, the ſerious imputations that might be conceived to lie againſt thoſe who indulge a little in literary thefts; before I preſume to come to the particular mention of ſome eminent names, generally conſidered as examples of original genius, but whom a minute inveſtigation will, perhaps, find in the train of induſtrious imitators.

When the name of ROUSSEAU is mentioned, the ſingular character of the philoſopher,

ſopher, and the more unique conduct of the man, immediately ſuggeſts the idea of a proud independent genius; viewing all literary obligation with at leaſt as much diſdain, as he affected to reject all other favour or aſſiſtance. Yet it will require no very elaborate reſearch and compariſon to diſcover the preciſely identical ideas and arguments of MONTAGNE and LOCKE, in the nervous pages of the *contract ſocial*, and the eloquent philoſophy of the *Emile*. It is true, that the thoughts of the gay old eſſayiſt, as well as the moral logick of the Engliſh philoſopher, aſſume a more lively form, and are adorned in brighter colours, by the ſtyle and imagination of ROUSSEAU. But theſe are ſecondary praiſes; and the original merit is in the original production; however ſucceſsful may have been the ſubordinate ſkill of tranſplantation.

The *Nouvelle Heloiſe* will naturally occur to the admirers of ROUSSEAU, as a work brilliant with original beauty, and animated with peculiar genius. Such, it muſt be owned, is the judgment extorted from many, by the rich elegance of ſtyle, and the warmth of

of colouring and imagery, with which this extraordinary work abounds. But the misfortune will be, when we allow that it has ſome claim to theſe diſtinctions, it will be found that they are the worſt parts of the work; alike inconſiſtent with the amiable feelings of nature, and the correct dictates of morality and religion. There may be novelty in imagining, and luxurious imagination in depicting, the co-exiſtence and conſiſtency of ſenſuality with ſentiment; of indelicacy of conduct with refinement of ſenſibility. But it had been better for the reputation of ROUSSEAU, and perhaps the morals of his readers, if he had indulged his plagiariſm a little further; and in addition to the ground work of his character from RICHARDSON'S Clariſſa, and the admirable letters of the real *Heloiſe*, had preſerved the delicacy of mind and dignity of virtue which peculiarly characteriſed the latter:—although miſrepreſented * in ſuch contrary colours by Mr. POPE.

Whoever

* It is a very remarkable fact, contrary to POPE'S ſcandal, that Eloiſa was actually married to Abelard; but

Whoever will take the trouble of comparing ROUSSEAU's writings, eſpecially on education, with the authors above-mentioned, to whom may be particularly added PLATO and SENECA among the ancients, with CROUSAZ, and many learned modern writers, will be equally convinced of, and ſurpriſed at, the extraordinary contributions he has levied from their funds of literature; in a proceſs, poſſeſſing the true criterion of plagiariſm; which is, a diſtinguiſhing ſeries of ideas or argument; or, continued peculiarity of ſtyle, for ſentences together.

Of theſe criminal ſallies of our author, his learned contemporaries and rivals could not be ignorant, though it does not appear, except in a curious book, *Les Plagiats de J. J. R.* that he was often reproached with them. The *proximus ardet* might ſerve as a check to ſome of his literary neighbours. Of his famous ſatiriſt VOLTAIRE, particularly, it is well recorded in the *bon mot* of

but concealed it, from delicacy (in thoſe times) to his clerical fame and character. Yet the poet makes her "curſe all laws; but thoſe which love has made:"—and exclaim againſt marriage.

"Not Cæſar's Empreſs would I deign to prove;
"No; make me Miſtreſs to the man I love."

Mrs.

Mrs. MONTAGUE, that his genius and gratitude to SHAKESPEARE, were in the ſame proportion.—The French critick had ſaid, that the Engliſh poet was nothing more than *une grand fumier.*—"C'eſt un grand fumier donc," ſaid Mrs. M.—"qui a fertiliſé un terrein bien ingrat."

I intended to have added a few thoughts, which perhaps would more have ſurpriſed ſome of my readers, againſt the affected originality of STERNE,—a favourite, and ſuppoſed original. VOLTAIRE, if his teſtimony may be admitted, has long ago, in the *Mercure François,* traced him as a copier of RABELAIS and SWIFT:—and in a late ingenious treatiſe by Dr. FERRIAR, he is more particularly examined, as a faithful follower of BRUSCAMBILLE, MARIVAUX, and *verbatim* in his ſermons, of Biſhop HALL. —But the Doctor tempers his ingenious reſearch with much candour; and STERNE'S admirers will hardly object to his concluding obſervation.

"Such are the caſual notes, with the collection of which I have ſometimes diverted a vacant half-hour. They leave STERNE in poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of every praiſe but that of curious erudition, to which he had no great pretence, and of unparalleled originality, which ignorance only can aſcribe to any poliſhed writer. It would be enjoining an impoſſible taſk to exact much knowledge on ſubjects frequently treated, and yet to prohibit the uſe of thoughts and expreſſions rendered familiar by ſtudy, merely becauſe they had been occupied by former authors. There is a kind of imitation which the antients encouraged, and which even our Gothick criticiſm admits, when acknowledged. But juſtice cannot permit the polygraphick copy to be celebrated at the expence of the original."

P.

NUMBER XXIII.—MAY 27, 1794.

Pleaſure is nought but Virtue's gayer name;
I wrong her ſtill, I rate her worth too low;
Virtue the root, and Pleaſure is the flower,
And honeſt EPICURUS' foes were fools.

YOUNG.

THE polite *nonchalance* of my friend and correſpondent Honeycomb Junior, will, I hope, forgive my delay of acknowledgment and attention to his letter. Though I confeſs I am the leſs pardonable in the neglect, as I have heard his ſubject much approved, and his mode of recommending it highly admired; particularly by thoſe fair and elegant criticks, whoſe applauſe muſt be, to Mr. Honeycomb, the moſt flattering tribute.

My readers will recollect the gallant expoſtulation of my correſpondent, on the neglect of the few amuſements offered to the publick, and the dearth of ſome others, which are not only eſtabliſhed by faſhion in other countries, but peculiarly recommended and juſtified by the genial clime.

But, however diſpoſed my friend Mr. Honeycomb may be to contribute to the

Con-

Converſazione, or to promote the *Al Freſco*, the *Bal Paré*, the *Comedie*, and the *Concert*, —it is to be feared that *Trédrille* has too firmly eſtabliſhed her reign. There are no pleaſures of ſociety equal to the ſolid philoſophy of a *Sans-prendre*, no dramatick ſcene ſo intereſting as the fineſſe of a hand well played, no muſick to be compared with the *Mattadores*, nor any *bon mot* ſo victorious as a *Vole in preference*; — the Muſes, their ſiſter Graces, diſappear before the *ſix-premiers*:—and SHAKESPEARE'S ſelf yields, ſilent and neglected, to the ſuperior genius of *Spadille*.

It was not very extraordinary, though conſidered by our cenſorial poets as worthy of their ſatire, that cards ſhould be the reſource of antiquated devotees to pleaſure; whoſe early years had not, by judicious purſuits of more amiable attachments, prepared a better reverſion for the decline of life. So POPE, in his nervous line, points out

——" How vice her votaries rewards,
" A youth of folly,—an old age of cards!"

And ſo it is as little ſurpriſing, that the frail female, as frail in charms as in character, but who unfortunately had given all her attention to the former, regardleſs of the ſuperior permanent attractions that ſecure eſteem,—ſhould continue to wander in the only paths ſhe had trodden, familiar from habit, though deſpoiled of the temptations which had formerly bloomed there,—that the Ghoſts of Beauty,

——" Still round and round ſhould glide,
" And haunt the places where their honour died."

But the wonder is, that the faſhion ſhould at all exiſt; that in the faireſt ſtage of life, beauty and youth,—and in others a little more advanced, taſte, ſpirit, and underſtanding; ſhould forego the proper objects of their attention and enjoyment, and ſacrifice their powers to a dull idol, the only reſource of thoſe whoſe antiquated or confined faculties can worſhip no other, and whoſe barren ſhrine can reward its votaries neither with the pleaſures of mind nor ſenſe.

I believe it was SOCRATES, who, in his peculiar method of conveying inſtruction, by propoſing

propoſing queſtions to thoſe with whom he reaſoned, heard the various ſolutions on the ſubject ſtated by him, of the comparative value of any human good. Some thought, as perhaps the general practice would alſo infer, that riches were the *ſummum bonum:* ſome, more ſtoical, gave the palm to virtue; and others, not very inconſiſtently with general opinion, declared in favour of health; but none divined the anſwer reſerved by the Sage himſelf, — TIME; which well employed, can ſecure and improve all other advantages; but which, loſt or miſſpent, can never be recovered or corrected.

What would the old Philoſopher have ſaid,—and let it be recollected that he was an Attick Philoſopher,—if he had ſeen the delights and elegancies of converſation and literature, and the fine arts of Athens, ſacrificed to a barbarous annihilation of time in the Gothick ſpirit of gambling! If he had ſeen the eloquence of the Forum and the Lyceum, and the ſtill more intereſting ſcenes of SOPHOCLES and the divine melody of his Chorus, deſerted for the dice-box! Cards were an invention reſerved for

for the ingenuity of latter times, and unknown in the city ſacred to Minerva.

But, not wiſhing to appear too grave on the ſubject of pleaſure, it is with much pleaſure I can congratulate thoſe who admire the moſt rational,—and they are not few, although want of ſyſtem and co-operation has hitherto prevented their ſucceſs,—that the moſt agreeable proſpect is preſented in the ſpacious and elegant theatre, rapidly advancing to perfection under the liberal care of the ſociety who have undertaken it.

With them, the public are aſſured that the hint of a wiſh entertained by many, will receive at laſt due attention: a wiſh, if it be conſiſtent with their general plan, as it apparently would well be with their extenſive command of ground, that a public promenade might be inſtituted, under ſuch regulations as taſte and judgment may dictate; that the pleaſures of ſociety may be promoted and the advantages of the climate enjoyed.—And, as violent reforms are ſuppoſed to be dangerous, two or three Tredrille tables may ſtill be tolerated

for

for thoſe who perſiſt in their worſhip of images.

P.

NUMBER XXIV.—JUNE 10, 1794.

En, nova progenies! VIRGIL.

Lo! a new race.

TO THE OBSERVER.

SIR,

I HARDLY know any ſubject more worthy obſervation, or more intereſting to the various curioſity of the public in India, than the arrival of an Europe ſhip. Obſerve every countenance and every inquiry: you will find a characteriſtick anxiety, curiouſly proportioned, not only to the nature and importance of the ſubject, but the temperament and taſte of the inquirer.

It is not always, for example, even in the great article of publick intelligence, that the greateſt

greateſt impatience of curioſity is found in thoſe who might appear from ſituation to be moſt intereſted in publick events. Nay, it often happens in a ratio directly contrary, when we ſee the moſt generous ſolicitude for political actors and actions, diſplayed by perſons, whom we ſhould imagine moſt diſtant from their ſphere of attraction.

This, however, with due ſubmiſſion to the *eſprit de corps* of the Quidnuncs, being a paſſion rather factitious and acquired than natural to the heart, cannot operate ſo forcibly or conſtantly as others founded in natural and congenial principles. Of theſe moſt powerful in their operation, and moſt productive of anxious ſenſibility in the mind, almoſt all the objects are expected, in the wondrous floating *microcoſm* from the oppoſite hemiſphere.

The ſighs and tears of love, ſeparated by half the globe, are wafted in the faithful boſom of the fail, the only ſolace for the ſorrows of ſeparation. After months of ſilence, and uncertainty of the fate of thoſe neareſt and deareſt to us, friendſhip again converſes;

converſes; renews again and again the faithful attachment conſecrated by abſence, and ſtimulated by the anxiety of a long ſilent interval.

If the gay flattery of hope, and the fairy fancies of imagination, be as ſome ſylphick minds conceive, ſuperior in nature and ſway in the more regulated and aſcertained impreſſions of experienced friendſhip and love, what muſt be the animated ſenſibility of the aſpiring youth, on the approach of the Europe ſtreamers?

—"*Courted by every wind that gives them play!*"—

What ſcope for fancy! What room for indulgence of the imagination!—The lilies and roſes, the graces and accompliſhments of Europe! Not merely the creatures of imagination, but formed on the charming models which have already attached the admiration of the envying and aſpiring batchelor. If the power of the cauſe may be judged from the effect, powerful indeed muſt be this eager anticipation of gallantry: teſtified as it is in the emulous attentions of the Leanders of the beach, ſcorning alike the Surf and Helleſpont, in the offers of

of ſervice to the unknown Heroes of the voyage.

In another line, very juſtifiable and natural, though not quite ſo romantick as the former, intermingling a little prudential curioſity with friendly inquiry, you muſt have obſerved a certain ſtrain of attention on the part of reſident friends here, to the health and views of old acquaintances who had returned to Europe. The civil ſervice juſtifies at leaſt ſome civil inquiſitiveneſs ——" Pray, do you know my friend * * * *? Has he purchaſed,—and is he ſettled,—or has he any thoughts of coming out again?"

The commercial ſpirit of curioſity may be almoſt too various to deſcribe, and too deep to penetrate. Extending to all the links of trade that compoſe the great communication between the produce and conſumption of the Weſt and the Eaſt,—the real omnipotent chain, vainly attempted by the proud tyranny of XERXES, to command the ocean, and pointing to all quarters of the globe, the anxiety of the merchant is in conſequence proportioned to the import-

ance

ance of his objects. The price currents, are his ſtate-papers; the rates of exchange, his revolutions; and bills of lading and letters of invoice, are the ſubſtantial *billets doux*, that

"Speed the *rich* intercourſe from ſoul to ſoul,
"And waft a *lack* from Indus to the Pole."

The mighty genius of commerce will forgive me, if in adverting to that great ſubject, a corollary obſervation occurs on its commanding influence, though inveſted with leſs influence and importance than on the grand ſcale. As a ſpecimen of reciprocal deſire of knowledge, who has not obſerved the appropriate reply of the judicious Purſer, to the political inquiries of the Quidnuncs? "Is adminiſtration as firm as ever? Are not the democrats *hore de combat?*"—"I aſſure you, Sir, Europe articles, eſpecially good wine, are not to be had for love, money, or reſpondentia. As to claret, pray, what does the beſt Engliſh ſell for now?"

On the convivial ſubject, the ſocial appetite with which the *bon-vivant* hungers and thirſts for Europe news cannot be forgotten

ten—"What have you this year?"—"Blew and Hibbert, and Brown and Whiteford."—Thus twinkles the rainbow of convivial curiosity among the others.

"*Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res.*"

P.

NUMBER XXV.—JULY 1, 1794.

Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis,
Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivia vitæ. HORACE.

Now deep in ancient lore, and now in soft repose,
Sweetly forget the ills, and wait of life the close.

I AM afraid my readers will too readily agree with me, that selection is sometimes better than invention. Especially when the selection is made from the works of *Menu*, and from the representative genius of Sir WILLIAM JONES.

But, however venerable the Institutes of the Indian sage, and however admirable the powers of his learned and elegant translator, I should not obtrude selected matter on the

the attention of my readers, if its extraordinary rarity did not render it next to original. Only one copy of this curious work has yet arrived in this ſettlement.

Such is my beſt explanation of what, I hope, ſome of my readers at leaſt, will think I favour them with, in preſenting to them the following extract.

If I might be allowed to adduce another and humbler explanation for the quotation I continue to offer, it will not eſcape the attention of *Indian Obſervers*, that the preſent buſy moment affords not the opportunity that claſſical duty would wiſh to embrace. If the ancient *dictum* be true, that *inter arma ſilent leges*, the preſent excuſe may meet ſome indulgence—that the voice of the muſes dares hardly whiſper amid the clangors of war.

That the claſſical *otium cum dignitate*, the dignified leiſure and repoſe ſo happily wiſhed for in my motto, may ſoon ſucceed to the honours of victory, muſt be the wiſh of every claſſical mind,—of the lovers of the *literæ humaniores*:—in the mean time, they will not faſtidiouſly diſdain the ancient but

poliſhed

poliſhed exemplar of the *Economicks* of *Menu*.

ON ECONOMICKS, AND PRIVATE MORALS.

1.—'Let a *Brahmen*, having dwelt with a preceptor 'during the quarter of a man's life, paſs the ſecond 'quarter of human life in his own houſe, when he has 'contracted a legal marriage.

2.—'He muſt live, with no injury, or with the leaſt 'poſſible injury, to animated beings, by purſuing theſe 'means of gaining ſubſiſtence, which are ſtrictly pre-'ſcribed by law, except in times of diſtreſs.

3.—'For the ſole purpoſe of ſupporting life, let him 'acquire property by thoſe irreproachable occupations, 'which are peculiar to his claſs, and unattended with 'bodily pain.

4.—'He may live by *rita* and *amrita*, or *if neceſſary*, 'by *mrita*, or *pram rita*, or even by *ſatyanrita;* but never 'let him ſubſiſt by *ſwavritti*.

5.—'By *rita*, muſt be underſtood lawful gleaning and 'gathering; by *amrita*, what is given unaſked; by '*mrita*, what is aſked as alms; tillage is called *pram-'rita*.

6.—'Traffick and money lending are *ſatyanrita;* 'even by them, *when he is deeply diſtreſſed*, may he ſup-'port life; but ſervice for hire is named *ſwavritti*, or '*dog living*, and of courſe he muſt by all means 'avoid it.

7.—'He

7.—'He may either ſtore up grain for three years; 'or garner up enough for one year; or collect what 'may laſt three days, or make no proviſion for the 'morrow.

8.—'Of the *Brahmens* keeping houſe *who follow* '*thoſe four different modes*, a preference is given to the 'laſt, in order ſucceſſively, as to him, who moſt com- 'pletely by virtue has vanquiſhed the world.

9.—'One of them ſubſiſts by all the ſix means of 'livelihood; another by three of them; a third, by two 'only; and a fourth lives barely on continually teaching 'the *Veda*.

10.—'He, who ſuſtains himſelf by picking up grains 'and ears, muſt attach himſelf to ſome altar of conſe- 'crated fire, but conſtantly perform thoſe rites only, 'which end with the dark and bright fortnights and with 'the ſolſtices.

11.—'Let him never, for the ſake of a ſubſiſtence, 'have recourſe to popular converſation; let him live by 'the conduct of a prieſt, neither crooked, nor artful; 'nor blended *with the manners of the mercantile claſs*.

12.—'Let him, if he ſeek happineſs, be firm in per- 'fect content, and check all deſire of acquiring more '*than he poſſeſſes;* for happineſs has its root in content; 'and diſcontent is the root of miſery.

13.—'A *Brahmen* keeping houſe, *and* ſupporting him- 'ſelf by any of the *legal* means before-mentioned; muſt 'diſcharge theſe following duties, which conduce to 'fame, length of life, and beatitude.

14.—'Let him daily, without ſloth, perform his pecu- 'liar duty, which the *Veda* preſcribes; for he, who per- 'forms that duty, as well as he is able, attains the high- 'eſt path to ſupreme bliſs.

15.—'He

15.—' He muſt not gain wealth *by muſick or dancing*, or ' by any art that pleaſes the ſenſe; nor by any prohibit- ' ed art; nor, whether he be rich or poor, *muſt he re- ' ceive gifts* indiſcriminately.

16.—' Let him not, from a ſelfiſh appetite, be ſtrong- ' ly addicted to any ſenſual gratifications; let him, by ' improving his intellect, ſtudiouſly preclude an exceſ- ' ſive attachment to ſuch pleaſures, *even though lawful.*

17.—' All kinds of wealth, that may impede his ' reading the *Veda*, let him wholly abandon; perſiſting ' by all means in the ſtudy of ſcripture; for that will be ' found his moſt beneficial attainment.

18.—' Let him paſs through this life, bringing his ' apparel, his diſcourſe, and his frame of mind, to a ' conformity with his age, his occupations, his property, ' his divine knowledge, and his family.

19.—' Each day let him examine thoſe holy books, ' which ſoon give increaſe of wiſdom; and thoſe, which ' teach the means of acquiring wealth; thoſe, which are ' ſalutary to life; and thoſe *nigamas*, which are explana- ' tory of the *Veda*.

20.—' Since, as far as a man ſtudies completely the ' ſyſtem of ſacred literature, ſo far only can he become ' eminently learned, and ſo far may his learning ſhine ' brightly.

21.—' The ſacramental oblations to ſages, to the ' gods, to ſpirits, to men, and to his anceſtors, let him ' conſtantly perform to the beſt of his power.

22.—' Some, who well know the ordinances for thoſe ' oblations, perform not always externally the five great ' ſacraments, but continually make offerings in their ' own organs *of ſenſation and intellect*.

23.—' Some

23.—'Some conſtantly ſacrifice their breath in their 'ſpeech, *when they inſtruct others, or praiſe* GOD *aloud*, 'and their ſpeech in their breath, *when in ſilence;* per- 'ceiving in their ſpeech and breath *thus employed* the un- 'periſhable fruit of a ſacrificial offering.

24.—'Other *Brahmens* inceſſantly perform thoſe ſa- 'crifices with ſcriptural knowledge only; ſeeing with 'the eye of divine learning, that ſcriptural knowledge is 'the root of every ceremonial obſervance.

25.—'Let a *Brahmen* perpetually make oblations to 'conſecrated fire, at the beginning and end of day and 'night, and at the cloſe of each fortnight, *or at the con-* '*junction and oppoſition.*

26.—'At the ſeaſon, when old grain is uſually con- 'ſumed, let him offer new grain for a plentiful harveſt; 'and at the cloſe of the ſeaſon, let him perform the rites 'called *adhvara;* at the ſolſtices let him ſacrifice cattle; 'at the end of the year, let his oblations be made with 'the juſtice of the moonplant.

27.—'Not having offered grain for the harveſt, nor 'cattle *at the time of the ſolſtice*, let no *Brahmen*, who 'keeps hallowed fire, and wiſhes for long life, taſte rice 'or fleſh.

28.—'Since the holy fires, not being honoured with 'new grain and with a ſacrifice of cattle, are greedy for 'rice and fleſh, and ſeek to devour his vital ſpirits.

29.—'Let him take care, to the utmoſt of his power, 'that no gueſt ſojourn in his houſe unhonoured with a 'ſeat, with food, with a bed, with water, with eſculent 'roots, and with fruit.

30.—'But, let him not honour with his converſation 'ſuch as do forbidden acts; ſuch as ſubſiſt, like cats, *by*

 '*intereſted*

'*intereſted craft*; ſuch, as believe not the ſcripture; ſuch
'as oppugn it by ſophiſm; or ſuch as live like rapaci-
'ous water-birds.

P.

NUMBER XXVI.—AUGUST 12, 1794.

Iago.—'Twas but a dream.
Oth.—Aye; but it denotes a foregone concluſion.
SHAKESPEARE.

I HOPE, Mr. Obſerver, you will not take it amiſs, when I honeſtly tell you the effect which ſome learned lucubrations ſometimes produce on my faculties. Indeed I flatter myſelf, that on reference to very high authority, the failing which I am going to confeſs, viz. a little *ſomnibund affection* on certain occaſions, of the mental powers, will not appear very criminal or extraordinary. For if the divine HOMER himſelf be admitted ſometimes to nod, ſurely an humble reader may be indulged now and then with a nap. Eſpecially as this

this indulgence may be not only a relief to himſelf, but in effect a compliment to the writer; when inſtead of ſenſes ſteeped in forgetfulneſs, as the poet has it, the ſlumbering critic is ſo ſenſible of his author's beauties as to continue to think of them whether he will or no, and when he can think of no other. Such, Sir, was the powerful impreſſion made upon me by your ingenious introduction, and the venerable tranſmigration-doctrines of the Indian ſage in your laſt paper.

My waking powers being exhauſted by the multifarious contemplation of the poſthumous transformations of mankind, ſubſided into a gentle ſleep; but ſo gradually as to render the tranſition ſcarcely perceptible:—" the obedient ſlumbers ſeemed to wake," and purſue the ſubject.

Methought I found myſelf landed on the eternal ſhore of the unrepaſſable river. The vaſt and various proſpect ſtruck my mind with mingled impreſſions of delight and awe, difficult to deſcribe in the language of mortals. The viſual ray, purged from the thick film of mortality, could de-

ſcry the bliſsful manſions of the bleſſed; where, beneath the never fading verdure of the laurel, heroes held mutual converſe and enjoyed each other's virtues. Sages there in the enlightened grove enjoyed the object of their long purſuit, truth in her pure and immutable charms, unchecked by diſtruſt and unclouded by ſcepticiſm: and there, in the blooming bowers of perfect felicity, the conſtancy of virtuous love and the piety of parental affection found their immortal reward.

But what was my aſtoniſhment and horror, when my delighted contemplation was called off from theſe ſcenes of glory and bliſs, by the yells of vice and deſpair, and the mad ſhouts of brutality and folly, which penetrated through the gloom of the oppoſite region. It was the chorus of Chaos itſelf: but worſe confounded than the mere darkneſs of "old night" could make it.—For ſin and death were there to ſwell the dreadful diapaſon: and, horrible to tell! in the wild roar of beaſts were heard the articulations that had belonged to the human ſhape. There the man of blood,

blood, a tyger now, with change of form but ſameneſs of nature, growled his eternal horrors, an immortal victim of famine and unſatiated rage. The more generous deſtroyers of the human race, ambitious conquerors, fired by falſe fame and little touched with human woe, gave dreadful note of late repentance in the lion's ſullen roar, while they ſtalked through the deſolated ſcene.—Deceit and duplicity attempted now their frauds in vain, in their amphibious forms. Detected and hunted from each element to the other, acknowledged by none and deſpiſed by all, they now feel how ſhort is the triumph of hypocriſy; and how certain the puniſhment.—But more terrible tortures awaited the malignity of envy and the blackneſs of ingratitude. Was not that the ſcream of the famiſhed vulture?—ſnuffing the tainted air for entrails to devour and hearts to lacerate! But his ſearch ſeems not in vain. He faſtens on that wretched victim, yet in human ſhape; whoſe guilt and puniſhment ſeem to defy the powers of tranſmigration.—Reaſon and

inſtinct

inſtinct here came to the aid of my wandering fancy to confirm the inference it had drawn: and both agree that there is no brutal form or character baſe or black enough to perſonify ingratitude.

Diſguſt overcame curioſity; and I turned away my eyes from theſe ſhocking ſcenes to others of leſs guilty nature and ſome of mere levity, or folly, enemy only to itſelf. But I could not help hearing ſome harſh notes, in a general diſplay of voices, which I was ſorry to find were thoſe of ſome pretty magpies, that ſeemed to be on their rounds of viſiting, from tree to tree. "In-" deed, my dear mag," ſaid one, as well as I could diſtinguiſh from the general clamour,—" I am ſurpriſed to hear you praiſe that ſaucy pea-hen's tail that we ſaw to-night. I aſſure you all her eyes are painted; and to my knowledge, ſhe got that fine deep blue and perhaps her *embonpoint* from the French pheaſant in next grove."

It was not unentertaining to ſee the progreſſive ſtages of inſignificance, grub, worm, &c. before the accompliſhed butterfly

fly could flutter in full blow of dreſs and faſhion, innocently warbling his *mia cara*, and *que je vous aime!*

Pigeons, being "more ſinned againſt than ſinning," were puniſhed only with the fear of what they had ſuffered in their fooliſh flights at faro and hazard: but it was a pleaſing juſtice to ſee the rooks and harpies, diſappointed of their prey, turn their fatal beaks and talons againſt each other, and find the fullneſs of their puniſhment in the exquiſite perfection of their villainy.

But among all the parties that preſented themſelves, none appeared more curious than ſome groupes here and there, figuring away in exact conformity to the proverb on earth. Theſe were certain ſtately female figures, who were eaſily to be recogniſed as of the claſs uſually called ancient virgins, leading files of apes in ſtrings curiouſly interlaced round their bodies. The venerable damſels, as may be ſuppoſed, ſtudiouſly directed their eyes—away from their unfortunate priſoners; while the poor male-coquettes and would-be-men that followed, ſeemed really more deſerving of pity

pity than punishment.—Why these respectable maidens should appear *in propriis personis*, may not be easy to be accounted for: unless it be considered that, from the spirituality of their lives and thoughts, transformation might be unnecessary, and transmigration indelicate.

And now, Mr. Observer, though I must stop for the present, do not hastily conclude that I am yet awake. I shall find however, from your admission or rejection, whether, as our friend in the play says, "the consequence approve my dream."—If so, "my boat sails freely, both with wind and stream:" and you may perhaps here further of the *prolusiones posthumæ* of,

Your constant reader,

IGNOTIOR.

P.

NUMBER XXVII.—AUGUST 26, 1794.

For all the pious duties which we owe
Our parents, friends, our country, and our God,
The ſeeds of every virtue here below,
From diſcipline alone, and early culture grow.

WEST.

TO THE INDIAN OBSERVER.

SIR;

I DO not recollect among the various topics that have been brought forward to conſideration by you or your correſpondents, to have ſeen one ſubject adverted to, which nevertheleſs appears to me worthy of particular notice and the warmeſt general encouragement. The ſubject I allude to, is the humane and ſucceſsful attention in this country, to the education of children, whoſe parents—if they have any whom the law can call ſo—may not be able to afford it; or whoſe colour may perhaps be an objection to what ought to be

be prompted by the *natural* affection of fathers, who could give to them the advantages of an European education.

It will, I am ſure Sir, recur to your recollection with pleaſure as an Indian Obſerver, that all the advantages to which the funds of the inſtitutions in this country are competent, are very happily communicated and extended to the children who are taken care of there. Not leſs, certainly, could be expected from the humane and able care and worthy profeſſional characters of thoſe who ſuperintend them. The ancient and eſtabliſhed public ſchool, is, I believe it may ſafely be ſaid, as ſcrupulouſly and as well conducted as any ſimilar inſtitution; and as ſucceſsfully as its means admit. Whether thoſe means might not be multiplied, in the manner generally adopted in our churches at home, it would not perhaps be politic to diſcuſs in the terms uſually employed, conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of Sunday mornings. But if inſtead of a charity-*ſermon*, to be preached at St. Mary's church, it were underſtood, that an addreſs was to be delivered

ed on the ſublimeſt and moſt pathetic of all poſſible ſubjects,—with ſinging from ſome of the moſt ancient maſters, — and ſubſcriptions to be received by Mr. Such-a-one, (without any mention of his being church-warden) for the benefit of the young performers, I ſhould ſuppoſe Sir, that both the taſte and liberality of the public might be amply depended on.

Of the other young ſeminary lately eſtabliſhed here, the Male Aſylum, it muſt be obſerved with particular pleaſure, that the ſucceſs has been as eminent, as the principle of its eſtabliſhment was laudable. It has flouriſhed indeed, both in the increaſed number of pupils, and in what may fairly be called their literary and ſcientifical advancement, to a degree beyond what was perhaps expected, even from the care of its reſpectable patrons, or the well-known abilities and perſevering diligence of the learned and reverend gentleman who has reared it from its infancy.

It was principally with a view to the ſtill further capability of this excellent inſtitution,

tion, that I alluded in the beginning of my paper to the uſual advantages of education in Europe, and the uſual cauſes that have prevented their being attained by the little involuntary adventurers in this country; who may have, ſome of them a complete, others only an half claim, to European origin.

But thoſe advantages are now brought within their reach here; even at preſent as far as they are requiſite to the ordinary walks of buſineſs, or perhaps to the higher ſcale of ſome uſeful and active profeſſions.

Throwing theſe thoughts together, only on the ground of general approbation, and of a wiſh for every poſſible encouragement of an inſtitution ſo advantageous to the public, I do not pretend to enter into a detail of its extenſive merits. They are confeſſed by all who have opportunity of knowing them, who hear with equal pleaſure and ſurpriſe the little proficients, maſters even to preciſion of writing and reading, purſue their young acquirements of arithmetic

arithmetic and mathematics with a clearneſs and command, rarely met with in young ſchools even at home, — and who obſerve above all the admirable order and cheerful regularity which reign alike in the leſſons and paſtimes of the little univerſity.

How much further, or in what manner, the advantages of this noble inſtitution may be extended, muſt be ſubmitted to the able judgments of thoſe who conduct it. But a hope may be ſuggeſted by a well-wiſher to it, that from the continued ſupport of the publick here, and the powerful patronage and promotion it may expect from our honourable maſters at home, higher claſſes might be added, than its ſcale could hitherto admit; where the higher branches of the moſt uſeful ſciences might be attained, and the languages taught, eſpecially the modern ones of Europe, ſo uſeful as they are in a commercial country: ſo that from the broad and popular baſe of the Madras Aſylum, might riſe the more various and poliſhed orders of a Madras Academy.

I hope

I hope theſe few humble hints will be received in right part, and,

I remain, Sir,

YOUR CONSTANT READER.

P.

POSTSCRIPT TO NUMBER XXVII.—SEPT. 16, 1794.

WHEN the *Indian Obſerver* entered on his *weekly taſk*, he hardly hoped that either any vigour of conſtitution in itſelf, or even the favourable influence of friendly encouragement and ſupport, could give it the prolonged exiſtence, or the integral character of a *year's* continuance. He will not, however, preſume too much on the partiality that has praiſed, nor for the preſent, treſpaſs further on the indulgence of criticiſm, that has permitted the perſeverance of his labours. Whether they are to aſſume a more permanent form in a collective publication, or to extend into an increaſed

increaſed ſize and number by venturing again into weekly appearance, will depend, in the firſt inſtance, on the judgment of others; and in the next, on the continued ſupport of thoſe to whoſe aſſiſtance he already owes ſo much obligation. If the *Obſerver* can aſpire to the honours of the *perennial* claſs, they will be the fruits of the eſſential ſtrength of the contributions of his friends: — his own humble effort, however, aided by a friendly ſoil and favourable aſpect, could not pretend to more than the temporary bloom of an *annual* in the literary garden.

September 16, 1794.

THE END.

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